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Presidential Documents



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Statement on the G–7 Agreement To Help Poor Nations

June 18, 1999

The G-7 agreement we reached today is an historic step to help the world's poorest nations achieve sustained growth and independence while targeting new resources for poverty reduction, education, and combating AIDS. It represents a sound, humane effort to promote widely shared prosperity in the new millennium.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks on the Agreement on Russian Participation in KFOR and an Exchange With Reporters in Cologne, Germany

June 18, 1999

The President. Let me say, first of all, how pleased I am and appreciative I am for the efforts made by Secretary Cohen and Defense Minister Sergeyev to reach the agreement under which the Russian forces will join KFOR in Kosovo.

I have been briefed on the terms of the agreement. They provide for unity of command. They provide for a significant range of responsibilities for the Russians, which I think are entirely appropriate and will enhance the mission's effectiveness. And I am fully supportive of this agreement and very pleased by it.

This has been a good day. We are achieving our objectives now. We know that we have 35,000 Serb forces out, 19,000 KFOR forces in. Now we have the agreement with the Russians, and the Kosovars are going home. So I feel very good and very grateful for this.

And again, I know that Secretary Cohen and Mr. Sergeyev have worked very hard, and I'd also like to thank Secretary Albright and Foreign Minister Ivanov, because I know they've been also in Helsinki working away. So I'm very pleased.

Q. What will the Russian troops be doing, and why is it significant that they would not control a sector of their own?

The President. Well, for one—the main reason is they are actually needed in more than one sector.

Q. Why?

The President. Because even though the Serb population of Kosovo is concentrated primarily in one north central sector and then a northeastern sector, they're actually—the religious and cultural sites are spread throughout the country and there are pockets of Serbs throughout the country, and we think it's quite important that every effort be made to secure both the physical sites and the personal security of the Serb minority, as well as the Kosovar-Albanian majority. And we think it will give confidence to them if the Russians are in more than one sector.

Q. Will the Russians answer to the NATO commanders?

The President. They have worked out their agreements on unity of command, and Secretary Cohen and Mr. Sergeyev are discussing it now—I think the briefing is going on now, so there's no point in my trying to answer their questions for them. They'd do a better job than I would, and if made a mistake just have to clean it up.

Q. Is this better than Bosnia, sir?

House of Representatives Action on Gun Control Legislation

Q. The House vote to kill the gun legislation—was that inevitable to kill the legislation because of changes the House wanted to make on gun control and the background checks?

The President. Did they do that today? **Q.** I think they're about to.

The President. They're going to kill it all? **Q.** They have killed it all.

Q. They have.

The President. Well, then maybe that means we'll go back to square one and pass a good bill.

Q. What happened? A month ago it was so different, wasn't it?

The President. They made a—the decision made by the leadership not to act before Memorial Day gave people—gave the NRA time to mobilize and lobby and put pressure on the House, and gave people's attention time to wander from the heartbreak of Littleton and the determination to do something about it.

But I think people still feel very strongly that there's more we can do to protect our children, and my attention hasn't wandered. I've been working on this for years, and I've seen a lot of ups and downs, so I'm more than happy to keep at it. And I would just urge all the advocates of sensible legislation to keep their spirits up and keep working and keep fighting. And I'll be there with them, and we'll get some things done.

Russian Participation in KFOR

Q. Is this more than Bosnia for the Russians, Mr. President? Is this an enhanced role than what they had in Bosnia?

The President. Yes, I would say so, because—but it's different. You see, in Bosnia, we shared a sector in Bosnia, and we worked very well together. I think all of our people will tell you they were very well pleased. And then the French had a sector and the British had a sector, and there were lots of other countries involved, just as there will be here. There will be nearly 30 countries involved.

But the—we didn't have the same dynamic here. We've got just two ethnic groups, and the Serbs are a small minority, but they're a substantial number of people and they're spread out. You know, of course, I hope that conditions will be such that those ordinary civilians who didn't commit any crimes who left will feel that they can come back, too.

So I think having the Russians there and then playing the administrative role at the airport gives them a broader range of responsibilities, because as I said, I think it's perfectly consistent with the mission. I think it will help us to send the message, to model the message, to both groups that we really

do want all law-abiding people to be able to live in peace in Kosovo, and we intend to honor our commitments to that end.

So I feel quite good about this, and I've reviewed the, as I said, the terms of command and control and the basic elements. I think it will work. My test about all this has always been, will it work; will it bring the Kosovars home; will it enable them to live in safety with self-government; will it enable us to protect everyone's religious and cultural and other appropriate sites? I think the answers to all those questions, if this agreement is faithfully implemented—and I believe it will be—the answers to those questions are, yes.

Q. Do you trust the Russians?

The President. Well, we—all I can tell you is, every time I've had an understanding with Boris Yeltsin, he's kept it. And we did work with them on a consistent, long-term basis for years now in Bosnia, and it's worked out. So I believe now that the agreement is worked out, I think it will be honored. I expect it will be honored.

Q. Despite last week—— **The President.** Yes, absolutely.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:08 p.m. in front of the Cologne Cathedral. In his remarks, he referred to Minister of Defense Igor Sergeyev and Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov of Russia. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's Radio Address

June 19, 1999

Good morning. Tomorrow will mark the 2-month anniversary of the terrible school shooting in Littleton, Colorado. This tragedy shocked our Nation and galvanized our determination to protect our children from violence.

Together with the entertainment industry, we're finding new ways to reduce our children's exposure to graphic and gratuitous violence in movies, TV, and video games. Together with parents, teachers, and community leaders, we're talking about how we can increase our involvement in our children's lives and reach out to troubled young people

before they act in violence; how together we can form a grassroots campaign against violence directed at young children. Together as a nation, we're searching our hearts and minds for the best way to prevent anything like this from happening again.

Now, one of the most urgent lessons of Littleton—and the plea of so many parents who've lost their own children to gun violence—is that to keep our children safe, we simply must do more to keep guns away from young people and out of the hands of criminals.

Time and again, the gun lobby has used every weapon in its arsenal to defeat any effort to strengthen our gun laws, no matter how sensible. This week it, sadly, happened again.

I sent to Congress a very sensible, moderate proposal to apply Brady background checks to gun shows. These are the same simple background checks that have now stopped 400,000 illegal gun sales without stopping a single legitimate purchaser from buying a gun over the last 5 years. Thanks to a tie-breaking vote by Vice President Gore, the Senate did the right thing and passed this measure. But the sound of the gavel hadn't died in the Senate Chamber before the gun lobby set its sights on the bill before the House of Representatives.

This week the House of Representatives gutted our bill in the dark of night—literally, after midnight—because the gun lobby didn't want commonsense gun legislation to see the light of day.

That is unacceptable. We can't allow the gun lobby to rewrite our laws and undermine our values. So today, again, I say to Congress: You've still got an opportunity, and you've still got an obligation to do the right thing and pass real legislation that will strengthen our gun laws, not weaken them. Pass a law that applies to all gun shows, not one that lets criminals turn flea markets and parking lots into gun bazaars. Pass a law that gives law enforcement enough time to run real background checks, not one that lets more criminals slip through the cracks. Pass a law that closes the deadly gun show loophole once and for all.

Try this—before you send me that final bill, ask yourselves questions that are on

every American's mind: Will this bill make it easier or harder for criminals to get guns? Will more lives be lost or more lives be saved? Is this about politics or putting our children's safety first?

I say to the gun lobby again: I wish you would help us. Nobody is going to be hurt by this legislation. But we've overcome your scare tactics and strong-arm pressure before. We did it with the Brady law; we did it with the assault weapons ban. We've got the lowest crime rate in 25 years; the American people are safer and honest hunters and sportsmen haven't been hurt a bit. The American people understand that commonsense gun laws don't infringe our rights; they protect our lives. It's that simple.

This isn't a partisan issue anywhere else in America; it shouldn't be a partisan issue in Washington. Let us learn from the lessons of Littleton. Let us remember the children of Littleton and, indeed, honor the memory of all the children who lost their lives to gun violence in our country. Let's build a stronger and safer America for our kids in the 21st century.

Thank for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 11:43 p.m. on June 18 in the Senator Room a the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Cologne, Germany, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. e.d.t. on June 19. The transcript was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

Interview With Wolf Blitzer of Cable News Network's "Late Edition" in Cologne

June 20, 1999

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, thank you so much for joining us on this very special "Late Edition" from here in Cologne.

There have been reports that President Yeltsin has been ill, erratic that his behavior has been shaky. You just met with him a little while ago; what's your impression?

The President. Well, his behavior was neither erratic nor shaky today. He was strong, clear, forceful, and looking to the future. We actually had quite a good meeting. We got a lot done. We set out an agenda to continue to work on reducing the nuclear threat, to

continue to work on reducing the likelihood of any cooperation of Russian entities with Iran's missile technology development, with working to help Russia comply with the IMF and get its economy going strongly again. And obviously, we talked about our commitment to fully implement the agreements we made over Kosovo.

So, today all I can tell you is I had good personal experience. He was clear, concise, and direct and strong.

Stability of Russia/Role in Kosovo

Mr. Blitzer. But a lot of people were concerned when the Russians sent those 150 or 200 soldiers into Pristina so secretively. With the Russians still having thousands of nuclear warheads, should Americans be concerned about the security, the safety of that nuclear arsenal, if there's a problem between civilian and military control of the Russian military?

The President. Well, so far, I can only tell you what our experience is, now in its 6½ years. We've worked very well with the Russian military to implement the system that was set up, actually, before I became President, although we've tried to strengthen it—to strengthen the Russian security over nuclear weapons, to strengthen security over other materials—President Yeltsin and I agreed last year to destroy 50 tons of plutonium arising out of nuclear operations. We have great confidence in that, and it's working quite well. I have no reason to believe that it won't continue to do so.

Mr. Blitzer. But will you concede, though, that the dash for the airport in Pristina and the grabbing hold of that piece of territory helped them get a better deal for their peace-keepers in Kosovo than would have been the case if they had not done so?

The President. I'm not sure that's right, for the following reason: I felt it was important myself—and I told all of our people this, and several of our NATO Allies—that Russia have a different role in Kosovo, because of the importance of making clear our common commitment to protect civilians, both the Kosovar Albanians who are coming home and the Serbs who remain. Therefore, I thought it was important for Russia to have its forces in more than one of these sectors. And of course, as you know now, they'll be working

with us and with the Germans and the French.

So they may believe that; the Russians may believe that. But in my own mind, I had already determined that if our Allies would go along, they should be in more than one sector.

Mr. Blitzer. But not necessarily in control of the airport, which originally was going to be the strategic headquarters for the peace-keepers.

The President. Yes, but now the division of labor they have worked out at the airport is quite acceptable to us and guarantees that the mission can go forward. So I think that's the most important thing.

We have to—every decision we made, including the agreements made with the Russians, had one thing uppermost in their minds: Will the mission succeed? That is, today it's a very happy day. The Serbian forces will go out on schedule, the last of them. We have about 20,000 of our NATO peacekeepers in there; 62,000 of the Kosovars have already come home, some of them before we wanted them to, because of the demining operations. So I feel very good about where we're going with this now, and I'm leaving here with real confidence that we are going to succeed in achieving all of our objectives.

Kosovo Liberation Army

Mr. Blitzer. But you have to be concerned about the potential for the KLA, the Kosovo Liberation Army—the revenge, the hatred, the fact that they're not going to be satisfied with autonomy. They're going to want full independence from Serbia. The potential for danger to those U.S. troops is very, very real.

The President. There is a potential for danger for all troops, from both disgruntled Kosovar Albanians or disgruntled or frightened Serbs in Kosovo. But I am encouraged that the leaders of the KLA have now signed on to the commitment to demilitarize. They've agreed to put away their uniforms; to give up their big weapons, their non-pistol weapons; to do everything we have asked them to do.

Might there be individuals or small groups who are full of anger and seek revenge? Of

course. And we'll have to be very vigilant, just as we've had to be vigilant in Bosnia.

I also think we're going to have to work hard to take initiative, to try to take some of that venom out of the atmosphere. When Elie Wiesel, our Nobel laureate who survived the Holocaust, came back from the tour I asked him to take of the camps, he talked about how troubled he was by the children, the families, how much we needed to work on that, and how hard we'd have to work to get people, religious leaders and others, in there to try to get people to turn away from revenge.

But this is a problem everywhere where such things occur. And you'd look at these hideous accounts that are just now coming out, even worse than we imagined, about the mass killings and the graves and the unusual, almost unimaginable cruelty. So it will take them some time to get through that, and we're going to work with them.

Mr. Blitzer. You know, some in the U.S. military, though, are concerned that just as—when the U.S., when President Reagan sent troops into Lebanon, there were high expectations. When you sent troops into Somalia, there were high expectations. Things could go sour quickly. Is that realistic, or are you taking certain steps that will prevent another Lebanon or Somalia?

The President. Well, I think we learned a lot about that. And when we went to Bosnia, where all the same things were present—remember, we'd had a quarter of a million people killed; we'd had 2.5 million refugees; we had all those horrible internment camps—all the hideous, awful stories we're hearing now out of Kosovo we had in Bosnia for a longer period of time.

So we did a lot of extra work on security. And we were quite careful about how we defined our mission and how we carried it out, based on lessons learned both in Lebanon and in Somalia.

And so we'll try to carry those lessons through. I can't tell the American people there will not be any violent incident, that no American will ever be harmed or killed. But I can say that we have learned the lessons of the last several years, and I think what we are doing is profoundly important.

Aftermath of Situation in the Balkans

Mr. Blitzer. In your Oval Office address, you declared victory. Some of your critics, though, say that as long as President Slobodan Milosevic is in power, there is no victory.

The President. Well, that's two different things. Let me first say that when I spoke to the American people, I said we had three objectives: to reverse the ethnic cleansing and bring the Kosovar Albanians homewe're doing that; 62,000 are already back to do it in a way that would keep our Alliance together—we're stronger than we ever were; and that I would seek a partnership with Russia as we had in Bosnia-we have now formalized that partnership, so that even though our relationships with Russia were quite strained during this period of the conflict, I think that we're actually in a position to have a stronger relationship with Russia in the future than we had before the conflict started. And so I feel good about that. So that is victory.

Now, do I think the Serbian people would be better off without Mr. Milosevic? You bet I do. He has been indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal, and every day now we see the vivid pictures which graphically demonstrate that it was even worse than we imagined. There is no statute of limitations on that. The Serbian—the leader of the Serbian church has now called for him to step aside. And I certainly hope that will happen, and we have time to focus on that. But first, we've got to do the mission. We've got to bring the folks home in safety and self-government.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, what the critics also say is that the U.S. and the NATO Allies have done nothing to go after other leading indicted war criminals—Serbs Ratko Mladic, Radovan Karadzic, Arkan. Why should President Milosevic be any more concerned than they are? They're all still free men.

The President. Well, in our sector in Bosnia, we have arrested people who were indicted, and so have the British, and we have worked with them. And I think that would be a big mistake for Mr. Milosevic now. We may not have an extradition agreement with Serbia. But he—as long as he remains at large, there is no statute of limitations. And if I were in his position, I wouldn't take too

much comfort from that. But the best thing that can happen for the Serbian people is if he were no longer President.

Mr. Blitzer. And you think that's realistic, that that could happen anytime soon?

The President. Well, I think that I shouldn't comment on that right now. But I think that there's—with the church leaders calling for him to step down, with the people in the opposition in Serbia calling for him to do so, and with the commitment we have made as allies to support humanitarian aid to the Serbs but no reconstruction aid as long as he's there, I think that's a pretty clear message.

Undermining Milosevic's Regime

Mr. Blitzer. You know about the reports that you've signed an intelligence finding to actively seek to undermine his regime?

The President. I don't comment on those things. I can't——

Expectations of Operation Allied Force

Mr. Blitzer. I knew you wouldn't, but I figured I would ask anyhow.

Let's move on to talk about—under the category of "now the truth can be told." When you gave the order to launch the airstrikes, did you ever believe in your wildest imagination it would take 78 days, and all the devastation that it did take, to finally declare a victory?

The President. I'll tell you what I thought. I thought that there was maybe a 50 percent chance it would be over in a week, because once he knew we would do it, I thought he would remember Bosnia, and I thought he would understand what we could do. But I knew that if he decided to take the punishment of the air campaign, it could go on quite a long while, because he would be trying all along to divide the Allies or to bring pressure from the outside to try to find some way to bring it to a close.

And so I told everybody when we started, I said, "Look, if we start this and it doesn't work out in 2 or 3 days, we've got to be prepared to go on."

I knew that we had, because of the facts of this case, the capacity—with the sophisticated weaponry and the skill of our pilots—I knew we had the capacity to essentially take

down the military apparatus and the economic apparatus supporting it. But I knew it could take quite a long time. I didn't have any specific deadline, but I knew it could take quite a long time.

"Clinton Doctrine"

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, some of your aides are now talking about a Clinton doctrine in foreign policy in the aftermath of this war against Yugoslavia. Is there, in your mind, a Clinton doctrine?

The President. Well, I think there's an important principle here that I hope will be now upheld in the future and not just by the United States, not just by NATO, but also by the leading countries of the world, through the United Nations. And that is that while there may well be a great deal of ethnic and religious conflict in the world—some of it might break out into wars—that whether within or beyond the borders of a country, if the world community has the power to stop it, we ought to stop genocide and ethnic cleansing. People ought-innocent civilians ought not to be subject to slaughter because of their religious or ethnic or racial or tribal heritage.

That is what we did, but took too long in doing, in Bosnia. That is what we did and are doing in Kosovo. That is, frankly, what we failed to do in Rwanda, where so many died so quickly, and what I hope very much we'll be able to do in Africa if it ever happens there again.

Gun Control Legislation

Mr. Blitzer. All right. Let's move on to some domestic issues. Guns—a big subject this past week. Do you really believe it's realistic, it's appropriate to register all guns in the United States? And if that were done, would that stop the violence?

The President. Well, you asked two questions. Realistic? In this Congress, perhaps not. Appropriate? Sure. We register cars. And if we did register them, it would be easier to track sales and easier to do comprehensive background checks.

But that's not what I asked the Congress to do. All I asked the Congress to do was to close the loophole for sales at gun shows and flea markets, so we could do the same background checks we now do at gun stores. And do I think that would make America a less violent place? Yes, I think there would be less crime with guns if that happened.

We already—under the Brady bill, we've stopped 400,000 improper sales. And we also have a 25-year low in our crime rate, and violent crime coming down, on average, even slightly more than that. So do I think violent crime would go down more? Absolutely, I do.

Mr. Blitzer. And the registration, you're going to hold off on for the time being?

The President. Yes. I mean, if we can't close the gun show loophole, we're certainly not going to pass that.

But let me ask you this—and that doesn't have anything to do with the right to keep and bear arms. We have—there's a constitutional right to travel in America, enshrined by the Supreme Court as a constitutional right. No one believes that registering our cars, or proving that we know how to drive them, undermines our constitutional right to travel. It facilitates our constitutional right to travel by making sure we're safe on the road and that we know what we're doing.

Mr. Blitzer. All right, but you will concede, though, that the Democrats have a potential political bonanza, from this defeat of the legislation this past week, going into the elections next year.

The President. Well, if the public supports this—but I didn't want a political bonanza; I wanted a safer America. And our party did not seek political points on this. We sought—if we wanted a political bonanza, we would have gone in with a bunch of issues that we knew were popular that we had no chance to pass. We thought—we went in there with an agenda that we thought we could pass, that we knew would make America a safer place.

No one questions—no one seriously questions—after the experience of the last 5 years with the Brady bill, that if we close the gun show and flea market loophole, that there will be fewer improper sales and it will make America safer at minimum disruption to the people who buy and sell guns and use them lawfully. So that's—what we've tried to do is to get things done that would make America a safer place.

2000 Presidential Election

Mr. Blitzer. All right. Speaking about politics, let's talk about Presidential politics. Do you think that Texas Governor George W. Bush is qualified to be President of the United States?

The President. Well, that's a decision the American people have to make.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, what do you think?

The President. Well, I think—you know, for one thing, we've got to see where he stands on the issues. So far, we know almost nothing of that, except what we know from his record as Governor. He said—his announcement speech was very well crafted, and was strikingly reminiscent of what those of us who call ourselves New Democrats have been saying since 1991.

But on the specifics, I just don't know. I mean, for example, he said nothing about this gun battle going on in the House. He signed the concealed weapons bill in the Texas Legislature. That's just the one example.

The one thing I thought the Vice President did particularly well when he announced was to say, "I'm very proud of what we've done in the last 6½ years; I've got all the relevant experience to be President, but the important thing is, what are we going to do in the next 4 years; and here are specific things I will do." I think that Governor Bush owes it to the American people to say the same thing.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, why is Vice President Gore so far behind Governor Bush in the polls, and what does the Vice President have to do to catch up?

The President. Well, I think in historical terms, he's not particularly far behind. I think if you go back and look at this point in 1959, when candidate Richard Nixon, Vice President Richard Nixon, was going to run as the Republican nominee, he was considerably further behind Adlai Stevenson, who was the best-known Democrat at the time.

I think the American people—the encouraging thing to me is that two-thirds of them have said they want to know more about all the candidates, including the Vice President. And I believe when they look at experience, proven success, and the program for the future—most—all elections are about tomorrow—I think he's going to do very well.

Mr. Blitzer. Do you think that he was trying, this week, to distance himself from you, the Vice President, by saying, almost volunteering, that your behavior last year was inexcusable?

The President. Well, I took no offense at it. He didn't say anything that I hadn't said in much starker terms a long time ago. So there was nothing inappropriate about that.

I thought the most important thing he did, frankly, by far, was to say, "I've got experience in areas that matter, and we have succeeded; here's what I'm going to do, specifically, if you elect me; and the real choice is whether you want to build on this record of success and go beyond it, or you want to go back."

I think—keep in mind, the American people will view this election, as they should—as they should—as about them, their children, and their future. All elections are about tomorrow. So if you've been a good Vice President or a good Governor of Texas, for the voters at election time, that's only valuable if it's evidence that you'll do good tomorrow.

They hire you; they give you a check every 2 weeks to do a good job. So I thought the most important thing he did was to talk about his future vision.

Mrs. Clinton's Possible Senate Bid

Mr. Blitzer. All right, let's talk about the First Lady's potential run for the Senate from New York. When did you discover, when did you learn that the First Lady was a New York Yankees fan?

The President. Oh, when I first—shortly after I met her, because I'm a big baseball fan. I mean, I'm——

Mr. Blitzer. You know, a lot of people think she just came up——

The President. I know that. But she said how it came to be. Her primary allegiance all her life has been to the Chicago Cubs. If you go to Chicago, basically, most of the people on the north side are for the Cubs; most of the people on the south side are for the White Sox. And she said, but I also—I remember back in the seventies, we were talking about other baseball, and she said, "But I like the Yankees, too." I said, "Well,

why don't you like the White Sox?" She said, "If you're from Chicago, you're for the White Sox or the Cubs, and normally not both." So our family always liked the Yankees.

Mr. Blitzer. All right. You know, there—

The President. I learned it a long time ago.

Mr. Blitzer. ——you know, there are reports out today in U.S. News and World Report that she's thinking of moving out of the White House and getting a place in New York in the fall.

The President. Well, it's not true that she's going to move out of the White House. But let me answer the report. Months ago, we said that we intended to get a place in New York. We talked—we started talking not long after we moved to the White House about where we would live when we got out. She's always wanted to live in New York, so we said we'd do that. And I would divide my time between New York and going home to Arkansas and finishing my library and doing my work there.

Now, if she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there. But it will be more like an incumbent Member of Congress running for reelection. That is, she's not going to stop being First Lady and doing her other responsibilities, but she'll have to spend a lot more time in New York, and we'll have to get a place there for her to be while she's spending her time there.

Mr. Blitzer. If she runs for the Senate, will you be eligible to vote for her in New York State? In other words, would you move your voting registration from Arkansas to New York?

The President. Well, I might, because I think every vote counts, and I'd certainly want her to win if she ran.

Mr. Blitzer. Could be that close?

The President. I will say this. I think if this is what she wants to do, if she wants, if she decides to do this, I will be enthusiastically supportive, because I think she would be truly magnificent. I think she'd be great for the people of New York and good for the people of America.

In all the years I've been in public life, of all the people I've ever known, she has

been the most consistently, seriously dedicated to the kinds of public issues that I think are important today: to the welfare of children, the strength of families, the future of education, quality of health care. I mean, this is something—if the people of New York chose her, they would have somebody with 30 years of unbroken, consistent, committed dedication, who knows a lot and is great with working with people. So if that's what she wants, I'm strong for it.

Mr. Blitzer. And so you're ready to move from——

The President. I'm ready to do whatever she wants. I will be—whatever the facts are about her running for the Senate, I'll be dividing my time between New York and home, because I've got a library to build; I've got a public policy center to set up; and it's a real gift I want to give my native State, and I want it to be something wonderful and good. So, I've spent quite a lot of time on it already.

President's Future After End of Term

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, you've always been someone who's looked ahead. When you look ahead to your personal life after you leave the White House, what do you see?

The President. Well, it depends in part on what Hillary does. You know, I'll probably be going to meetings of the Senate spouses club, if she decides to run. But I want to continue to be active in areas that I care a great deal about. And I think that through my library and through the public policy center, and perhaps through some other activities, I can continue to work on some of the issues of world peace and reconciliation of people across these racial and religious lines that I've devoted so much of my life to. I can continue the work at home on issues that I care a great deal about, including involving young people in public service, whether it's young people in AmeriCorps or young Americans who are interested in running for public office. I've given a lot of thought to it.

But I'll find something useful to do. I want to work hard. I'm too early—it's too early to quit work, and I'm not good enough to go on the senior golf tour. So I expect I'll have to just keep on doing what I'm doing.

Mr. Blitzer. So what—I'm hearing more of the Jimmy Carter model as opposed to a Gerald Ford model?

The President. Yes, that may just be a function of age and circumstance. I think President Carter has been the most effective former President in my lifetime and one of the three or four most important former Presidents, in his public service and the quality of his work, in the entire history of the United States. So what I would do wouldn't be exactly what he has done, but I think the model of what he has done and how he's done it is a good model for every former President who gets out who still has good health and a few years left.

Mr. Blitzer. Okay, Mr. President. I'm told we're all out of time. I want to thank you very much for joining us for this special "Late Edition" here in Cologne.

The President. This is your last trip with me, so I want to thank you for $6\frac{1}{2}$ good years. Good luck.

Mr. Blitzer. Thank you very much. It's been an honor to cover you.

Note: The interview began at 4:27 p.m. in the Bibliotek Room at the Hyatt Regency Hotel and was videotaped for later broadcast on Cable News Network. In his remarks, the President referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); Serbian Patriarch Pavle, president of the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church; and suspected war criminals Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic, and Zeljko (Arkan) Raznatovic, indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Interview With Yevgeniy Kiselev of Russia's NTV in Cologne

June 20, 1999

Mr. Kiselev. Mr. President, hello, and let me express my gratitude for your interview.

The President. Thank you very much. I'm glad to do it.

Russia-U.S. Relations and Russian Troops at Pristina Airport

Mr. Kiselev. And let me start with this question. For the past week and a half, relations between Russia and the West have

been complicated by the unexpected deployment of the Russian peacekeepers to Pristina. What was at the heart of the disagreement between Moscow and the West regarding Russia's participation in KFOR? How did you overcome this disagreement?

The President. Well, first of all, let me say that this entire difficulty in Kosovo has been a great test for the relationship between the United States and Russia, but it is a test, I believe, that both countries have passed—on your part, thanks to the leadership of President Yeltsin and the work that our foreign ministers and defense ministers have done, the work that Prime Minister Stepashin has done.

I don't know that there ever was much disagreement about Russian participation. I said from the beginning that I strongly felt in order for the peacekeeping force to have credibility and full impact, Russia would have to be a very important part of it. And the agreement we have reached regarding Russian involvement in terms of leadership over the airport and being involved here in three different sectors I think will enable all of us to achieve our objectives: to bring the Kosovars home in peace and security, and to make sure that the Serb minority as well as the Kosovo Albanian majority are both treated freely and fairly.

President's Meeting With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Mr. Kiselev. Today, Mr. President, you met with Russian President Yeltsin. What questions did you discuss, and what did you manage to agree on?

The President. First of all, we discussed Kosovo. We talked about what a difficult challenge it had been to our relationship, and we both committed to implement our agreement in good faith in a way that will, I think, reflect credit on the leadership and greatness of Russia and the Russian people, and on those of us who are working with Russia in Kosovo.

Secondly, we discussed the importance of continuing our efforts to reduce the nuclear threat and the threat of proliferation of missile technology. And we agreed to work together on that. Among other things, President Yeltsin said that he hoped that START

II would be ratified by the Duma, and that we would begin soon parallel discussions on START III to take our nuclear arsenals down even more and on the ABM Treaty.

Then, the third thing we discussed was the need to do more to try to support economic development in Russia, to get Russia qualified in the IMF program and, of course, that requires some action in the Duma. And I expressed my strong support for IMF assistance to Russia, as well as for help on the Soviet-era debt problem and some other things that can be done, I believe, to boost Russian economic prospects and help the lives of ordinary citizens in Russia, which all of us think is very, very important.

President Yeltsin's Health

Mr. Kiselev. Mr. President, let me ask you this. Both in Russia and in the West, the question of Yeltsin's health, President Yeltsin's health constantly comes up. How did you find Mr. Yeltsin today?

The President. Today he was strong, clear, alert, vigorous. He stated Russia's case very forcefully on every issue, and we did what we have done in all of our meetings—we've now had 17 meetings in the last 6½ years. We had an agenda; we reached agreements; and we committed to go forward. So I would say, today he did very, very well.

He has acknowledged from time to time that he's had some health problems, but in all of my conversations with him about Kosovo, and especially today, I found him to be alert and very much on top of his responsibilities.

Russia-U.S. Relations

Mr. Kiselev. Mr. President, let me ask you about this. NATO's operation in the Balkans has led to manifestations of anti-Western and anti-American sentiments in Russia. What are you planning to do to improve America's image in Russia's eyes, and what kind of specific concrete steps will you take to improve relations between Russia and the U.S.?

The President. Well, first, I hope that this interview will help to some extent by giving me the opportunity to clarify my country's position and our commitment to a strong, successful, democratic Russia, fully participating in world affairs and a leadership role,

and fully integrated into Europe in the major economic and political institutions that will be so important to the welfare of ordinary Russian citizens in the new century.

Second, I think that as we work together in Kosovo and as you are able to bring to the Russian people the facts of the horrible atrocities committed against the Kosovars by Mr. Milosevic's forces, the nightmares that are so much like what we saw in Bosnia before the United States and Russia and others went in there, at least perhaps the Russian people will understand what was behind what we were doing. We sought no political or economic advantage, we sought no change in the balance of power worldwide. We were only trying to reverse ethnic cleansing and genocide. And now it is something we are doing together with the Russian forces. So I hope that will help.

And finally, I think it's very important that we get back to our larger agenda: to reducing the nuclear threat and the burden and—it imposes on Russian as well as American people; to reducing the threat of the proliferation of dangerous weapons technology; and to building up the Russian economy in ways that benefit ordinary Russian citizens. These are things that are in the interest of the American people, things we are deeply committed to.

And I believe as we continue to work on these things together, I would hope that the feeling the Russian people have for the American people in the United States will warm up again, because we strongly want our partnership with Russia to endure and to be felt in the hearts of ordinary citizens in both countries.

Response to Genocide and Minority Oppression

Mr. Kiselev. Mr. President, with regard to NATO's operation in the Balkans, let me ask you this—this question is asked by many people nowadays. Does it not seem to you that the actions of the United States and NATO show some sort of double standard—I mean, that America doesn't act, say, in the Balkans the same way as it does in Kurdistan or Rwanda and other regions of the world, where authorities are conducting a policy of

genocide or national oppression of minorities?

The President. First, let me say—— *Mr. Kiselev.* Will NATO be just as—I'm sorry to interrupt you——

The President. Yes?

Mr. Kiselev. ——will NATO be just as firm with the KLA, for example, as it has been against Serb forces if they try to take over Kosovo or endanger the Serb population?

The President. The answer to the last question has to be yes—and a strong yes. Our commitment, as I said from the beginning, is a Kosovo in which no innocent civilians were subject to death, uprooting, or oppression. Our commitment, therefore, now must be to give equal protection to all the innocent civilian citizens of Kosovo. And I would just note that KLA has agreed now to demilitarize, to give up its large weapons, to suspend any kind of military operations or training, including even the wearing of the uniforms. So we will have to be vigilant, but I am pleased with the progress of that.

And I want to say again, I am committed to protecting all the people of Kosovo, and one of the reasons that I wanted the Russians to come in and first have a partnership is so that the Serbs, as well as the Kosovar Albanians, would feel that the KFOR force was committed to their protection and that they would all try to live together again. It's going to be hard; a lot of horrible, horrible things have occurred. But we will work with them and we will do our best to help reconcile the civilians who had no role in the wrongdoing, to help them reconcile to one another.

Mr. Kiselev. And as far as the first part of my question?

The President. The first part of your question, I have spoken to quite extensively in America. First, America did actually play a very major role in preserving an area of protection for the Kurds in northern Iraq for several years after the Gulf war. And we have, several times, intervened to try to help protect the Kurds, and will continue to be sensitive to that.

Secondly, I have said repeatedly that the slaughter of the Rwandans, the genocide in Rwanda occurred in the short space of about 100 days, and we were caught flat-footed. I

feel terrible that we did nothing. And I would hope that if anything like that develops in Africa again that the United States and Russia, indeed, all the major powers of the United Nations would move aggressively to try to stop it.

We should not countenance genocide or ethnic cleansing anywhere in the world if we have the power to stop it. That's not to say that we can expect all people of all different ethnic groups to always like each other and never even to fight. But when innocent civilians are subject to mass slaughter and ethnic cleansing, if we can stop it, we should.

Russian Role in Balkan Peace Negotiations

Mr. Kiselev. Let me ask you about the role of Russia in the Balkans peace deal more in detail. There are basically two views. Some believe that NATO was forced to turn to Russia for help because only Russia could sit down with both sides and convince Milosevic to accept the peace deal. Others believe that the West could have avoided turning out Russia, and only did so out of goodwill and a desire to preserve Russia's role in the Balkans. What is your point of view?

The President. I would say there's a little bit of both there. The United States and the other NATO authorities do view Russia with goodwill, not ill will, and we do want and believe Russia should appropriately have a role in the Balkans. But also, I always believed if we were going to get a diplomatic solution here, we had to have Russia's involvement.

Keep in mind, before the bombing began, for 14 months we worked closely with the Russians to try to find a diplomatic solution in the Balkans, because we knew that Russia's positive influence would be essential. Then, when it appeared that the diplomatic solution might be possible and could bring an end to the bombing and bring the Kosovars home, President Yeltsin was willing to appoint Mr. Chernomyrdin.

He then came to us and made it clear that he would like someone who could represent the rest of Europe in these negotiations, and President Ahtisaari of Finland became his partner. And I believe that the Russian people should be very, very proud of the role, the indispensable role that Russia played in these diplomatic negotiations, and the role of Mr. Chernomyrdin in particular. He and President Ahtisaari did a very, very good job, and it's something that I think is a great credit to Russia and to the people of Russia.

G-8 Summit/International Financial Aid to Russia

Mr. Kiselev. And there's probably now one last topic that I wanted to dwell upon. Today is the last day of the G-8 summit. The Western press usually refers to it as G-7-plus-Russia, even though more than a year ago in Birmingham, Russia was officially admitted, accepted to the club of the world leading nations. Is Russia, in fact, a full-fledged member of the G-8, or is it still early to talk seriously about this because of Russia's economic weakness and is the U.S. going to pressure the IMF to provide credits to Russia, and is the U.S. going to help Russia's economy apart from IMF?

The President. Let me try to answer all of your questions. There is a G-8 now, not a G-7-plus-one. It is a G-8; Russia is a full member.

Mr. Kiselev. Please do it.

The President. The communique that we issued today, which covers a wide range of economic and social issues, was fully participated in by Russia. The Russians had a full hand, along with all the rest of us, in developing this communique. And President Yeltsin was at the meeting today when the leaders went over the sections and, in effect, ratified and said we wanted it out there. So I think you can feel quite good about that and about the fact that there is a G-8 and Russia is a full member of it.

Secondly, you ask about the future and whether we would pressure the IMF to help Russia. The answer is that we have always strongly, strongly supported IMF assistance to Russia. We also strongly, however, support the changes that the Duma has been asked to make in order to give Russia a competitive world economy. Because no matter how much the IMF tries to help Russia, unless your country has made the basic changes that every country must make to compete in the global economy, the private money will not flow into Russia that will really bring it back

to the position that the Russian people deserve, and that, frankly, the rest of the world needs. It's very much in the interest of the United States to have an economically successful, strong, prosperous Russia. And I will do everything I can to that end.

And your third question was whether there were things apart from the IMF that we could do to help the Russian economy, and the answer to that is, yes. And I discussed some of those with President Yeltsin today.

I want you to understand that the United States believes that a strong and prosperous democratic Russia, actively involved with the rest of Europe, actively involved with the United States, actively working together in partnership to solve the world's problems, from terrorism to the threat of weapons of mass destruction to the need to stop ethnic cleansing—that this is in our interest. We do this because we genuinely want the Russian people to have a leading role in the world and to have personal prosperity, because we think it gives us a safer world and it's better for the American people.

Mr. Kiselev. Mr. President, thank you for your time, thank you for your answers, and I wish you good luck.

The President. Thank you.

Note: The interview began at 5:16 p.m. in the Bibliotek Room at the Hyatt Regency Hotel and was videotaped for later broadcast in Russia. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Sergey Stepashin and former Prime Minister and Special Envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and President Martti Ahtisaari of Finland. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Joint Statement Between the United States and the Russian Federation Concerning Strategic Offensive and Defensive Arms and Further Strengthening of Stability

June 20, 1999

Confirming their dedication to the cause of strengthening strategic stability and international security, stressing the importance of further reduction of strategic offensive arms,

and recognizing the fundamental importance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM Treaty) for the attainment of these goals, the United States of America and the Russian Federation declare their determination to continue efforts directed at achieving meaningful results in these areas.

The two governments believe that strategic stability can be strengthened only if there is compliance with existing agreements between the Parties on limitation and reduction of arms. The two governments will do everything in their power to facilitate the successful completion of the START II ratification processes in both countries.

The two governments reaffirm their readiness, expressed in Helsinki in March 1997, to conduct new negotiations on strategic offensive arms aimed at further reducing for each side the level of strategic nuclear warheads, elaborating measures of transparency concerning existing strategic nuclear warheads and their elimination, as well as other agreed technical and organizational measures in order to contribute to the irreversibility of deep reductions including prevention of a rapid build-up in the numbers of warheads and to contribute through all this to the strengthening of strategic stability in the world. The two governments will strive to accomplish the important task of achieving results in these negotiations as early as possible.

Proceeding from the fundamental significance of the ABM Treaty for further reductions in strategic offensive arms, and from the need to maintain the strategic balance between the United States of America and the Russian Federation, the Parties reaffirm their commitment to that Treaty, which is a cornerstone of strategic stability, and to continuing efforts to strengthen the Treaty, to enhance its viability and effectiveness in the future.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation, recalling their concern about the proliferation in the world of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, including missiles and missile technologies, expressed by them in the Joint Statement on Common Security Challenges

at the Threshold of the Twenty First Century, adopted on September 2, 1998 in Moscow, stress their common desire to reverse that process using to this end the existing and possible new international legal mechanisms.

In this regard, both Parties affirm their existing obligations under Article XIII of the ABM Treaty to consider possible changes in the strategic situation that have a bearing on the ABM Treaty and, as appropriate, possible proposals for further increasing the viability of this Treaty.

The Parties emphasize that the package of agreements signed on September 26, 1997 in New York is important under present conditions for the effectiveness of the ABM Treaty, and they will facilitate the earliest possible ratification and entry into force of those agreements.

The implementation of measures to exchange data on missile launches and on early warning and to set up an appropriate joint center, recorded in the Joint Statement by the Presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation signed on September 2, 1998 in Moscow, will also promote the strengthening of strategic stability.

Discussions on START III and the ABM Treaty will begin later this summer. The two governments express their confidence that implementation of this Joint Statement will be a new significant step to enhance strategic stability and the security of both nations.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Remarks to the American Community in Bonn, Germany

June 20, 1999

Lord Mayor Dieckmann, thank you very much for your words and for your wonderful gift of Beethoven's music; Mr. Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me begin by saying a word of thanks to our Embassy staff and to those of you here in Bonn who have been our hosts for so many years. We are very proud of our long presence here, but we know, as the Lord Mayor said, that our departure is made possible by something we have dreamed of for a very long time, the Germany envisioned when the American High Commission came to Bonn in 1951. Also, thanks in large measure to Germany's leadership and example, we see the Europe envisioned in the days of Truman and Adenauer, a Europe free, undivided, and at peace at last within our grasp.

The man for whom this chapel was named, Henry Stimson, shared those dreams of Germany and Europe. I understand one of his relatives, Arthur Stimson, is here today, and we are honored by that. I also want to wish the chapel's pastor, Dr. Hubbard, well as he returns to America tomorrow after his service here. We thank you, sir, and we wish your successor, Reverend Satre—and Father McNally, thank you for being here.

Hillary and I and Secretary Eizenstat, who's about to become the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury—he's moving, too—all of our Americans here are profoundly grateful to those of you who have served in Bonn and have done a remarkable job of forging the truly incredible relationship we have with Germany. It is a security alliance, an economic partnership, and a cultural bond. The gift of this chapel is meant to symbolize that whole relationship and to make it stronger. I thank all of you who have made it possible.

As I think about where we are today, compared to where we were 50 years ago and the work we did today for the Europe our children and grandchildren will live in 50 years from now, I think it is altogether fitting that we are here in Bonn, the home of Beethoven, for his life makes possible for us to see one of the most important admonitions of the Scriptures. The Bible says, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Beethoven, I believe, was the greatest composer in the history of the world. He was also stone deaf. He wrote his music because of his vision, because of the melding together of his mind, his heart, his memory, his imagination. Human beings are at their best, not only individually but working together, when they are guided by their visions and they are good.

The summit we have just completed was the last leaders' meeting of the 20th century. It followed our victory in Kosovo for values and for the vision we have of the 21st century. I want to talk very briefly—and I thank the rain for letting up. [Laughter] God approved my interpretation of the Scriptures, you see? [Applause] Thank you. I want to say just a few words about the vision we have for southeastern Europe, for our relations with Russia, for the challenges of the new global economy.

Consider first the lessons we would be leaving this century for the next if we had come to Cologne without having taken a stand in Kosovo. Then we would be saying that innocent men, women, and children could be singled out for destruction because of their ethnic heritage or religious faith, even in the heart of Europe; that innocent people could be driven from their homes, loaded on train cars, raped and killed, their religious faith and their culture erased, and the world would not hear, see, speak, or act to stop it; that the world's most powerful alliance is simply powerless to stop crimes against humanity, even those on its own doorstep.

Years from now, people would say that we lived through a time of amazing progress in human freedom and economic prosperity. But the children of the 21st century would have to look back and say that we failed a decisive moral test, that our inaction imperiled our own security, that we had not learned the lessons of the bloody 20th century.

Now, think about how the century is actually ending—with a powerful statement by our 19 democracies that we will stand up for the innocents in the face of evil, with our Alliance strong, united, working with partners all across the continent to meet common objectives; with ethnic cleansing not only defeated but, as the Kosovars go home, reversed; with the remarkable sight of German troops, marching with their democratic Allies, through the towns and villages of a Balkan country, cheered as liberators by people grateful to be going home in peace and safety.

We may never have a world that is without hatred or tyranny or conflict, but at least instead of ending this century with helpless indignation in the face of it, we instead begin a new century and a new millennium with a hopeful affirmation of human rights and human dignity. The people of Kosovo have a future again. And there is no future in Europe for Mr. Milosevic and his policy of manipulating normal human differences for inhuman ends.

Now, we find ourselves at that pivotal moment between winning a conflict and winning the peace. Today the last Serb forces are leaving Kosovo, in accordance with the deadline that has been set. Over 60,000 Kosovars have already gone home. I believe, shortly, we will formalize our agreement with the KLA to demilitarize their forces. Of course, there are still dangers ahead. But we also have a remarkable opportunity, and what we do now will determine the character of this continent, the shape of our Alliance, and the nature of our partnership with Russia for years and years to come.

Our biggest challenge perhaps will be to put in place a plan for lasting peace and stability in the Balkans. We cannot do this a province, a nation, a crisis at a time. All our G–8 partners have agreed it is time to help transform the entirety of southeastern Europe the way Western Europe was transformed after World War II and central Europe was after the cold war. We want to give the region's democracies a path to a prosperous and shared future, a unifying magnet that is more powerful than the pull of old hatreds and destruction which has threatened to tear them apart.

Some say this is a dream. Some still believe the people of the Balkans are somehow predestined to a never-ending struggle over land, faith, and power. But after all, that is what, in times past, people used to say about England and France, or France and Germany, or Germany and Poland, or Poland and Russia. If we had listened to all the people throughout human history who said that we couldn't get along, none of us would be here today.

Look around this crowd at the different faces, the different races, the different religious faiths. None of us would be here today if we had believed that any of those past conflicts was more powerful and more predestined than the innate goodness and potential and dignity of all human beings, without regard to their origin.

Henry Stimson once said, "The most deadly sin I know is cynicism." Today, we ought not to have much of that, for we have a lot to hope for. Most of central and eastern Europe is transforming itself through democracy and cooperation with neighbors. If the countries of southeastern Europe keep taking the same path, we have pledged to do our part to work with the World Bank, the IMF, and others to support the economic development and the private investment necessary to grow the economy and the futures of the people of southeastern Europe. We ought to integrate them into the global economy and into our regional arrangements.

All of this, of course, will cost money, but how well spent that money will be. The costliest peace is cheaper than the cheapest war.

This summit was also the first meeting between the leaders of Russia and the West since our disagreement over the conflict in Kosovo. Of course, Russia opposed our use of force there, but it did work with us to achieve the peace, to fulfill our objectives. Now we have committed to implementing this peace together in a way that will strengthen our relationship, reassure the security of innocent civilians—both ethnic Serb and Albanian—in Kosovo, and preserve the unity of NATO.

The summit gave us a chance to work on what we have in common. President Yeltsin and I, for example, agreed to hold discussions later this year on START III, further reductions of our nuclear arsenals, and preserving the ABM Treaty, even as we work to get START II ratified.

Our G–8 partners agreed to increase support for our enhanced threat reduction initiative. That is what safeguards nuclear materials, technology, and expertise in Russia so that horrible weapons of mass destruction don't fall into the wrong hands. We also recognize that Russia's future depends upon the health of its economy. President Yeltsin affirmed today that Russia can thrive in the global marketplace only with a strong reform program. And the rest of us made it clear that we will move quickly once Russia's IMF program is in place to support a rescheduling of its debt.

Our final challenge in Cologne was to join forces to maximize the benefits and minimize

the risks of the global economy to ordinary people the world over, whether in wealthy or poor countries. The rise of an open economy in the world represents one of the most hopeful developments in history. But to build public support for it, we must make sure that the benefits are widely shared, that when people are disrupted, as they inevitably will be, they are helped to get back to a good life, and that no one is left behind.

At this summit we took critical steps to make the economy of the world more resilient, to moderate the cycles of boom and bust that have gripped Southeast Asia and the rest of Asia in the last couple of years, and to do more to protect the most vulnerable among us. We resolved to work with the International Labor Organization to eradicate abusive child labor and enforce good labor standards around the globe.

We pledged to launch a new global trade round at the WTO meeting in Seattle later this year to spread the benefits of trade more broadly. And we launched an historic effort to move the world's poorest nations onto a path of growth and independence, something I have been working on for most of my tenure as President. Our plan will more than triple the amount of money available for debt reduction, reducing up to 70 percent of the outstanding debt of the poorest nations of the world.

We also committed to increase the number of countries eligible for this aid and to deliver the relief faster, in ways that will free up the resources of the poor countries so they can spend that money on health care and education, on the fight against AIDS, on the alleviation of poverty, on future prosperity. It will help to ensure that no country committed to that kind of progress is too indebted to achieve it and to meet the basic needs of its people. It will help to reduce poverty and expand opportunity. It will help to turn debtor countries into good citizens of the world and good partners for Germany and the United States.

So I say to you, we left this summit grateful for our long partnership with our European allies and especially with Germany. We look forward to the movement of our Embassy to Berlin, because it is the fulfillment of the visions of those who came before us. We will always be grateful for what the people of Bonn have given us in partnership and support.

But as you think about the future—whenever you are tempted to believe that we cannot eradicate ethnic hatred from the Balkans; whenever you are tempted to believe that some people are destined to be chained in poverty and oppression; whenever you are tempted to believe that the world's problems, like the spread of AIDS, cannot be turned back—think about your native son. If anyone at any point in human history had ever said the greatest composer who ever lived would be stone deaf, they would have laughed and laughed and laughed. There is nothing we cannot do without the right vision.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:35 p.m. at the Stimson Memorial Chapel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Bärbel Dieckmann of Bonn, Germany; U.S. Ambassador to Germany, John C. Kornblum; Rev. Donald R. Hubbard, outgoing Protestant chaplain, Rev. Douglas M. Satre, incoming Protestant chaplain, and Father Stephen McNally, Catholic chaplain, Stimson Memorial Chapel; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

Remarks Following Discussions With European Union Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters in Bonn

June 21, 1999

Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. [Inaudible]—I have introduced the President and Madam Secretary to Mr. Adenauer's study, and both of them thought that it was possibly lighter and brighter and possibly even nicer than what we've got over there. But as you might imagine, that wasn't the focus of our consultations.

I'm rather pleased, indeed, that for the second time by now, I have the opportunity of welcoming President Clinton here in the Chancellory on behalf of the European Union. And I am very pleased also to note that Mr. Santer has come here again—the last time wearing the hat he's presently wearing. And I think soon he's going to join the European Parliament, and he's going to try to narrow it down to certain specific things

that he would like to see happening. He's going to do that with the same sense of humor as he's done it so far.

We have adopted some important documents regarding the transatlantic relationship. The Bonn Declaration that you have already got, or that will be handed out to you very soon, is very much going to deal with the spirit of the transatlantic partnership. And in the spirit of this, we also want to see to the individual trading problems that do exist but that we think can be overcome.

Of course, as you might imagine, the situation in Kosovo and in the Balkans played an important role during our discussions. I am very much of the opinion that what we have triggered, being the Presidents of the European Council in Europe, was to trigger the Stability Pact for the Balkans, and the contours of that agreement have been drafted by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers very recently—but that will have to be promoted further with strong dynamism. And President Clinton and the European Union very much agree that this is worth promoting and developing further.

So we think that—still in July and in close cooperation with the Finnish Presidency—we call for a meeting of the heads of state and governments—all governments involved in the Stability Pact. And that meeting is meant to happen in Sarajevo.

Ladies and gentlemen, in having it there, we want to set a clear signal that the region can very much rely on the fact that we are not just talking about providing assistance but that we really want to help, and will help.

During the discussions, we also said we want to show rigidity and decidedness on the military side but diplomatic skill on the political level. And arms have now gone silent since yesterday; it is definite. And after we've won the dispute, we will now win peace for us, and we will only succeed in doing so if we go in and economically develop that region and we get in closer to Europe—in individual steps, in phases, but expeditiously, rather. I think that is certainly an interesting part of joint cooperation between the European Union and the U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President, I've very pleased to have you here yet again, and actually even more pleased about this wonderful spirit, sir, of cooperation and friendship that has reigned over our talks here, and joint conviction. Thank you.

President Clinton. Thank you very much. Chancellor and President Santer. Let me just make a few brief comments on the issues that Chancellor Schroeder has mentioned.

First, on Kosovo. Yesterday the Serb security forces completed their withdrawal. Russia is now participating. The KLA is demilitarizing. I spoke late last evening to Mr. Thaci after the agreement had been signed. KFOR is moving in, and the refugees are on their way home.

I congratulate Chancellor Schroeder on initiating this Stability Pact as a device for the long-term redevelopment of Kosovo and all of southeastern Europe. We will be full partners.

We are interested in bringing this reconstruction to life. Our experts are now assessing the needs. We will have a donors' conference in July to finance the immediate reconstruction projects and one later in the fall to deal with long-term development of the region.

We have also agreed, as the Chancellor said, to get the leaders together in Sarajevo—both the benefactors and the beneficiaries of the Stability Pact—to plan for the future of southeastern Europe, and after the pattern followed in the Marshall plan of World War II, to get the people of the region to work together to define their own future. We think this is very important.

I'd also like to thank the business leaders involved from Europe and the United States in our business dialog for their willingness to mobilize the private sector to help in the reconstruction of Kosovo.

Let me say just a word about one other subject that I think is worth some discussion because of the interest to the public opinion in Europe and increasingly in the United States. We discussed the need to have unresolved trade disputes not define our relationship at a time when we're working together so well on so many fronts. With a relationship that covers such a large spectrum of economic activity, it is inevitable that there will be occasional friction—some small, some large. We must not let them cloud the fundamental soundness of our relationship.

We've made a lot of progress in recent months on some irritants, but a lot of work remains. Let me just give you one example. I know there's deep concern in Europe on the question of food safety. It's also an important priority for me; I've done a lot of work on food safety as President in the United States. And it's important for our farmers because they have an enormous interest in providing safe and wholesome food to the world. We need to develop open and scientific regulatory processes in each country that actually command the full confidence of ordinary citizens.

This is an issue of enormous consequence on both sides of the Atlantic. We must approach it constructively. We're already making progress under our Transatlantic Economic Partnership, establishing a pilot project for scientific review of new biotech projects. And I am pleased that the G–8, under Chancellor Schroeder's leadership, asked the OECD to undertake an analysis of international food safety.

So I want you to know that I am committed to this. All of us should have one standard only: What is the right thing? What is the right thing? That's the only thing that should matter. What is the truth? What does the science tell us? And that will be my commitment.

Finally, I think it is important that all of us honor the decisions of international tribunals when they are rendered on these trade matters.

Let me say in closing, Chancellor, I'd like to bid farewell to President Santer as he leaves his present position and goes to work in the European Parliament. I thank him for the work that he has done. This has been a remarkable period of European integration with the European Monetary Union and common security and other policies. We welcome Romano Prodi as his successor.

I also thank Sir Leon Brittan for his work and wish him well. And I would like to acknowledge and greet the newly-confirmed American Ambassador to the European Union, Dick Morningstar, who was recently very quickly confirmed by the United States Senate.

So we are preserving this relationship as we change some of the personnel involved.

It is a long-term commitment by both the Europeans and the Americans, and I'm looking forward to it. I think what we are about to do in Kosovo, in the Balkans, and what we have done there, is something that our people will be proud of for many decades to come.

Thank you.

President Jacques Santer. Mr. President, Mr. Chancellor, this summit takes place at a crucial moment in Europe's development and in the development of the United States-European Union relations. I'll make only four points about our discussions this morning.

First, we have discussed Kosovo and the wider southeastern European region. The European Union nations shared equally with the U.S. in NATO action in the Kosovo crisis, and the EU has taken the lead in putting together the Stability Pact for the region, and the EU will play a leading role in financing the reconstruction. The European Commission will work with the World Bank to coordinate the donor effect for the region. And the Commission will be overseeing the negotiation of the proposed EU association and stability agreements with the countries in that region. This all shows that the EU is capable of sharing these burdens equally with the United States and that it is a full and equal partner with the United States in pursuing our common goals.

We have discussed how the EU and U.S. interests can now jointly use their cooperation under the new transatlantic agenda to ensure that our partnership is at the heart of the rebuilding of a stable, democratic, and prosperous Balkan region.

Second, we have agreed the Bonn Declaration, which builds on the new transatlantic agenda, can strengthen it in a number of areas and affirms our joint commitment to a full and equal partnership. We are committed in particular to work together to prevent and deal with regional crises, and Europe's emerging common security and defense policy makes this much easier.

But too often in the past, President Clinton and I have had to spend time on damaging disputes, like Helms-Burton, bananas, and hormone-treated beef, even if 98 percent of our trade relations are trouble-free. By set-

ting up an effective early warning system, we are seeking to resolve such problems before they become politically damaging.

And we have agreed that it would be a good thing to have our scientists work together on health and consumer safety issues. The details still need to be worked out in order to prevent—[inaudible].

To summarize, the transatlantic relationship, 4½ years after the signing of the new transatlantic agenda, is in fine shape. Kosovo has demonstrated, as clearly as anyone could wish, how important the relationship is, and it has put our occasional trade disputes into perspective. And we look forward as we go into the new millennium to continuing to deepen that relationship for the good of the whole transatlantic community.

Humanitarian Aid to Serbia

Q. Chancellor Schroeder and President Clinton, I wonder if you could be precise on the definition of humanitarian aid to Yugoslavia, to Serbia proper. The G–8 was unable to reach an agreement on this point, but would you consider providing as part of your humanitarian assistance to the Serbs, rebuilding their electrical power plants and rebuilding their bridges to enable people to go to work as part of humanitarian assistance to the Serbs?

Chancellor Schroeder. Well. I think— I'm not as certain as what you're doing with your question—you have to differentiate between humanitarian assistance on one hand, side, and reconstruction on the other. You cannot let people starve just because they follow the wrong President, or they have the wrong President. If they are in need of medical assistance to survive, we have to grant this medical assistance to them, even if they feel they want to support Mr. Milosevic as their President. And that applies for as long as they have him as a President. So humanitarian assistance, yes, but making a tangible contribution to reconstruction, that can only ever happen with a democratic Yugoslavia.

That is very much my conviction. And you cannot look at it in abstract terms, what is humanitarian, and what is kind of more than humanitarian. So we have to know what is

needed here to be able to take a proper decision. That is the line that I consider the right one.

President Clinton. First, I agree with everything he just said. But to take your specifics—I saw the interview that President Chirac did with you, and what he said about the electrical power I thought was pretty good, that it would depend. That is, for me, it is important that if the Serbs want to keep Mr. Milosevic and don't want to be part of southeastern Europe's future, that at least they not freeze to death this winter and that their hospitals not be forced to close. So they need some power.

In terms of rebuilding the bridges so people can go to work, I don't buy that. That's part of their economic reconstruction, and I don't think we should help—not a bit, not a penny. So that's—but on the other hand, I think their hospitals ought to be able to function. I think—babies will be born; people will get sick; I think though—that people shouldn't be cold in the winter if we can help that. That's basically where I draw the line.

But we will—the reason the G-8—we didn't have a disagreement about it. We recognized that—the Chancellor read us through this—we recognized that we would have to have people in place in whom we had confidence, who could make most of these decisions on a day-to-day basis, and if they had a question, they could then kick it back to us. But I'll give you—I'm just giving you my kind of feeling about it.

Lori [Lori Santos, United Press International].

Reconstruction of the Balkans

Q. In your discussions over the past few days, did you win specific commitments—in your talks over the past few days, did you win specific commitments from the European leaders for the billions that you'll need for the reconstruction effort? And are you confident that they will carry the lion's share, as you said you wanted?

President Clinton. I think that their commitments and mine are in good faith. Let me restate what I said in my opening remarks. There will be—let me back up. I expect, in the next several days, all of you will hear various things about how much the im-

mediate reconstruction of Kosovo will cost, what we're looking at in terms of long-term development. Then you'll see both Europeans and Americans say we will or won't pay this or that amount of money.

I think that that—almost all of that is going to be rather fruitless in the end. What we have to do is have our people go in there and figure out, ballpark, what it's going to cost to get Kosovo up and going and whole again. And then we have to convene the leaders' meeting as well as have people look at what it would take to have a long-term development strategy for southeastern Europe. And obviously, that will be greater flexibility there; in other words, the more money you have, the more you can do; but there will be some flexibility there. And then we will—I will try to allocate our responsibilities.

But I am absolutely convinced—you heard what President Santer said—I think that all of us are committed to doing this. And let me just say to the American people and to—who would be listening to this and to our friends in Europe, it will probably cost more than most people think, but I promise you, it will be a lot cheaper than a continuation of war would have been. It will be phenomenally less expensive than a land invasion of Kosovo and a protected conflict would have been.

So I want to say what I said again is, the most expensive peaceful reconstruction is still cheaper than the cheapest war. This is a responsibility we should assume, and it will pay for itself many times over in future conflicts avoided, in future trading partners, in future cooperation.

Bombing of Chinese Embassy in Belgrade

Q. Mr. President, China last week bluntly rejected Under Secretary Pickering's explanation of the bombing of its Embassy in Belgrade. What is your reaction to that? Does it have any merit, their position, and have you given up—do you think you've lost any chance of reaching a WTO agreement with China before the end of this year?

President Clinton. Well, the answer to the second question is, no. I have not given up. The answer to the first question is, I think—as they have time to review the information we gave them, and reflect on it, I

think they will conclude that it was a truly tragic accident, that a series of very bad mistakes were made, and a tragic accident occurred.

I also, frankly—after Mr. Pickering made his important but difficult journey there, I noted that the reports, the contents of the report, were highlighted in Chinese news for 2 or 3 days thereafter, which I took to be quite a positive sign, actually.

So this is a difficult, painful period for them and for our relationship, but I'm not—I haven't given up on the WTO. I'd still like to see it finished this year. And I think we'll work through this.

Chancellor Schroeder. Last question.

Congressional Support for Reconstruction Funds

Q. Mr. President, your ability to keep your commitments on the aid to the region is dependent upon a Congress that has been very reluctant to come up with money. Do you anticipate difficulty there? And have you done anything to lay the groundwork with the Congress?

President Clinton. Well, yes and yes. Yes, I anticipate some difficulty; and yes, I've worked hard to lay the groundwork.

We have had lots of meetings on Kosovo, as you know, larger meetings with Congress. I have said all along that I thought that we had to participate in the long-term reconstruction, that I thought that we—just as in the peacekeeping—we can have a marginally more modest role in peacekeeping and reconstruction because we had a relatively larger role during the air campaign and paid a lot of the cost of that.

But we have—the Congress did give us funds, for example, in this supplemental, to help to pay for the relocation of the Kosovars' home and the attendant costs related to that. So I think that if we can make the case, that they will be willing to support it. And it's part of our responsibility.

You know, I just want to urge you to give us some time to come up with a plan for the short run, and then let the leaders in the region come up with a long-term plan and let us all sort of join together.

I think that our Congress and our taxpayers will be like most people—they want to know what is the big picture; what is the long-term objective here; how does it relate to the interests of ordinary families in Germany and the United States, throughout Europe? And I think these are questions we'll be able to answer, and I think we'll get the support we need.

Do you want to take a European journalist question? Equal time here. [Laughter] You guys owe me one. [Laughter]

President's Visit to Slovenia

Q. Mr. President, you are going now to Slovenia. What's the purpose for the visit, and also the message of your visit in Slovenia?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I'm going to Slovenia to highlight our partnership, our shared values, and our shared future. But I want the American people and the rest of the world to see a successful country in southeastern Europe that has done a good job of promoting democracy, of advancing prosperity, of working for integration in the region and with the rest of Europe.

They represent what I believe a whole region can become. So the Slovenians have been, in my view, very good citizens and good partners with all of us, and I have to highlight that. But I also want the trip to spark the imagination of others, both within the Balkans and beyond it, about the kind of future, the kind of societies we can build in all those countries if we work at it.

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, take one more? Mr. President?

Chancellor Schroeder. One question for a European journalist. [Laughter]

Administration of Kosovo/Duration of U.S. Troop Involvement

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. Chancellor. Thank you, Mr. Chancellor.

Kosovo obviously now urgently needs an administration. How quickly do you think that can be facilitated via the OSCE or the European Union, and can the U.S. Americans contribute to that?

And now, one thing regarding President Clinton—6,000 soldiers on the ground; how long are they going to stay there for? How long will you want them to stay there? How

long will your Congress, which has actually taken a bit of a negative attitude, be able to maintain that period?

Chancellor Schroeder. Well, the question as to who's going to chair the civilian administration is a decision that lies in the field of the United Nations Secretary-General, and I think it would not be appropriate to give him advice from here. But he knows that we need a highly qualified person who links two things: firstly, the kind of political degree of skill and sensitivity and, on the other hand, experience with administration, somebody who—I think in economic terms, as well. All of those I think are the job profile descriptions. And I think the Secretary-General will very, very speedily pick and choose that kind of person who will then dominate the reorganization in the civilian sense.

President Clinton. One is, I agree entirely with what Chancellor Schroeder said about the person the United Nations should pick. I called the Secretary-General, and I said that I had no particular candidate and I did not care from what country the candidate came; that the most important thing was that we get someone who can do the job—someone with high energy, with organizing skills, with vision, with the ability to communicate.

It's a fascinating job; I'd give anything if I could do it. It's a wonderful job if you think about it. It's a very interesting job. But it's very important that we pick the right person. There will be no politics in this, nothing. So I made it clear: I don't care where the person is from; I just want the right person picked.

The second question you asked me is, how long could we stay? I hope we will stay until the objectives of the mission are completed. And I went out of my way, since I thought, and our military thought, in Bosnia we knew how long it would take, and we were wrong. I went out of my way not to make the same mistake twice and not to put a timetable on our involvement, but to say here are our objectives; when we've achieved our objectives, we'll get out.

Now, in Bosnia, we've gone way down, all of us have. You know, the military force in Bosnia is only about, I think, 30 percent, maybe 25 percent of what it was when we first went in. But we are still there. And I personally believe, again, having a modest force there, if it avoids war, promotes peace and prosperity, it is much, much less expensive than letting these conflicts occur. So I hope we will stay until our mission is complete.

Thank you.

Q. This is my last shot. Are you going to

President Clinton. Your last shot?

Q. My last shot.

President Clinton Why? You're not leaving us, are you? Where are you going?

Q. I'm going to "60 Minutes."

President Clinton. All right, you guilt me into doing it. If you ask me a lousy question, I'll never speak to you again. [Laughter] Go ahead—[laughter]—which would make you happy——

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

President Clinton. Anything for the farewell.

Slobodan Milosevic

Q. That's right. Sir, the last administration left you Saddam Hussein, and you have spent billions of dollars trying to keep Saddam Hussein contained. I understand that there are many covert things that you can't discuss, but can you assure the American people that you did not send their sons and daughters into harm's way just to leave Milosevic in power?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I can ensure the American people that we sent our soldiers, our airmen, into harm's way to get the Kosovars home, to get the Serbs out of Kosovo, and to have—the Serbian forces, not the people, the Serbian forces out—and to have an international peacekeeping force. That's what I defined as our objectives, and we achieved them. And I thought they were worthy.

Now, I have, furthermore, said that I would be adamantly opposed to any reconstruction aid going to Serbia as long as Mr. Milosevic is in power. He has now been indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal, and every day we see fresh evidence of mass killing and oppression taken under his guidance and with his orders. So, I think that is clear. And I can assure the American

people that I'm not going to change my position on that.

But you know, if we never did anything in the world until we could get everything done we wanted, we often would not do anything at all. What we have done here is to reverse genocide and ethnic cleansing, and it is very important. Would it also be good if we could have a new leader in Serbia? Of course it would. But the main beneficiaries would be the Serbian people.

And our ability to build the kind of future in southeastern Europe we want would be enhanced if we had new leadership and full participation in Serbia, but we can do an awful lot of good whatever happens there.

Let's don't mix apples and oranges, Mr. Pelley [Scott Pelley, CBS News]. I told the American people what the objectives are. We've achieved those objectives. Now we just have to win the peace. But would it be a good thing if Serbia had a democratic leader who didn't do things like what we've seen in Bosnia and in Kosovo? Of course it would. And I can't wait for the day when that happens.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:55 a.m. on the lawn at Palais Schaumburg. The President met with Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany in his capacity as President of the European Council and President Jacques Santer of the European Commission. In his remarks, he referred to Hashim Thaci, leader, Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA); President Jacques Chirac of France; European Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan, vice president, European Commission; U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The President also referred to OECD, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Chancellor Schroeder spoke in German, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Videotape Address to the People of Albania

June 21, 1999

To the people of Albania, on behalf of all the American people, I want to express our gratitude for the courageous stand you have taken for peace, tolerance, and freedom in southeastern Europe. And I want to pledge my support for your own efforts to build a strong and prosperous democracy.

This spring, when Mr. Milosevic launched his bloody campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, no country bore a greater burden than Albania, and no country did more to help humanity prevail. You opened your skies to the NATO aircraft that brought this nightmare to an end. You opened your ports and your airfields to the troops and aid workers who came here to help the refugees.

And most important, you opened your homes and your hearts to more than 300,000 victims of ethnic cleansing—giving them shelter and food and hope, even though your own country still faces enormous challenges. History will record that one of the greatest acts of barbarity Europe has seen in this century was defeated with the help of one of the greatest acts of compassion we have seen.

The whole world knows what you have done in the last several months. And we also know that you have done it while struggling to overcome perhaps the most cruel legacy of isolation and repression of any of Europe's formerly Communist states. We still have much work to do.

We have to work together to get the Kosovar refugees back to their homes safely. We'll have to keep helping those who must remain a while longer in Albania. We'll need to station more NATO troops in your country to support those keeping the peace in Kosovo. For the people of Albania, there will be a continuing burden, but there will also be an opportunity to deepen your partnership with NATO and your integration with Europe and the future prosperity that will bring.

America will do all it can to help you recover from the economic and social upheaval caused by the war, to help you strengthen your democracy, to enshrine the rule of law, and to attract new investment to create new jobs and new opportunities. And we'll work with you to build a southeastern Europe that is coming together around the promise of freedom and prosperity, instead of being torn apart by hatred and bloodshed. We want you to be on the front lines of democracy and

prosperous development in southeastern Europe, not on the front line of aggression and tyranny.

You have shown in this crisis that a nation's standing in the world is measured not just by its wealth, its power, or its size but also by the principles it upholds and the responsibilities it is willing to assume. The world's admiration for Albania has risen immeasurably in the last few months. If you stay on the path you have chosen, we will stay by your side.

I thank you for all you have done and for all we will do together in the months and years ahead.

Note: The address was videotaped at approximately 5:40 p.m. in the Bibliotek Room at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Cologne, Germany, on June 20 for later broadcast on the U.S. Information Agency WORLDNET. The transcript was embargoed for release by the Office of the Press Secretary until 4 p.m. on June 21. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.

Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia in Ljubljana

June 21, 1999

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, I wonder if you could tell us what President Clinton's visit means to your country, what you hope to get out of the visit?

Prime Minister Drnovsek. [Inaudible]—to visit, the first time we have the President of the United States in Slovenia, and I think it is confirmation of excellent relations that we established during the last year. And we cooperated in southeast situation; the Kosovo crisis was another crisis.

So I think this is a confirmation for Slovenia, for our partnership, because of our role in this part of the world.

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Q. Mr. President, yesterday you had a chance to sit down across the table from Boris Yeltsin. We saw him get off at the airport—he looked very frail, at times his speech sounded slurred. You sat across the

table, eyeball-to-eyeball, how would you assess Boris Yeltsin today?

President Clinton. Yesterday, I can say, his movements were halting, but his mind was quite clear; he was very precise, very strong, and very eager for us to resolve our past differences and go on into the future. I actually was reassured by the meeting. I thought he was quite strong and quite clear yesterday.

NOTE: The exchange began at 4:55 p.m. in the Presidential Palace. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

United States-European Union Summit Statement on Ukraine

June 21, 1999

Ukraine's successful transition to a democratic and market oriented country, secure within its borders, is crucial for long-term stability in Central and Eastern Europe and the continent as a whole. Helping Ukraine achieve these objectives is one of the top priorities for U.S.-EU cooperation. The EU and the U.S., as Ukraine's largest donors, share a strategic interest in the successful evolution of Ukraine toward a prosperous economy and stable democracy and in bringing Ukraine more fully into Euroatlantic structures. The EU and the U.S. welcome the progress made in the realization of their strategic partnerships with Ukraine and look forward to a further deepening of these relationships. We commend Ukraine for the important progress it has achieved in recent months, in particular the economic reform measures which have allowed Ukraine to return to compliance with its IMF program. We urge President Kuchma to seize the opportunity presented by the renewal of the IMF program to push forward his reform agenda, including privatization of large industries, agricultural and energy sector reform, restructuring of the financial sector, as well as improvements in public administration. We encourage Ukraine in its efforts to accede to the WTO and will support decisive action in establishing a favorable environment for foreign investments and in removing key obstacles to trade.

We note Ukraine's progress on democracy. However, we call on Ukraine's leaders to ensure a free and fairly contested presidential campaign leading up to the October 31 presidential election in compliance with OSCE and Council of Europe standards. A free and fair election will be an important step in the transition of democracy and demonstrate that it is taking firm root in Ukraine. We express our continued support for efforts to develop the rule of law and institute an effective presidential electoral process. In this context, we emphasize the need to protect the freedom of the media. These are fundamental underpinnings to democracy in Ukraine. In that regard, we consider Ukraine's recent decision to retain a continued OSCE presence in Ukraine another important signal of Ukraine's determination to meet its commitments to democratization and to Euroatlantic cooperation. We support the continued efforts of Ukraine to play a responsible role in relations with neighboring states and within the larger transatlantic relationship. We welcome Ukraine's commitment to regional cooperation as well as its contributions to find solutions to the conflicts in Transnistria and Kosovo.

As Ukraine continues its transition to democracy and a free market, we recognize the social problems arising from necessary social adjustment and remain committed to joint U.S.-EU efforts that bolster Ukraine. We strongly encourage Ukraine's efforts to implement additional power sector reforms, particularly increased cash collections and strategic privatization of energy distribution companies, as crucial components of the energy investment strategy embodied in the G-7/Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on Chernobyl Closure. We reiterate our commitment to the closure of Chernobyl in the year 2000. We reaffirm our commitment to assist Ukraine in securing the financing necessary to strengthen its energy sector, facilitate Chernobyl closure and in securing the remaining financing of the necessary stabilization of the Chernobyl sarcophagus.

We applaud the initial project under the U.S.-EU civil society program to support Ukrainian non-governmental organizations working to build democracy in Ukraine, as well as the agreement to launch the Kiev Re-

gional Environmental Center sponsored jointly by the EU and the U.S. We look forward to inaugurating our other joint projects. We are actively considering the possibility of launching a joint project on public health issues in Ukraine. We have illustrated our common view on the importance of economic reform, as well as our commitment to further Ukraine's economic transition, through our joint demarche to President Kuchma and Rada Speaker Tkachenko.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Remarks to the People of Ljubljana

June 21, 1999

Thank you, Thank you. *Dober dan!* You have certainly provided for me a welcome to Slovenia I will never forget.

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mayor Potocnik; to the young lady who introduced me, Irena Majcen; and to your famous Olympian Leon Stukelj; and to all the people of Slovenia, thank you very much.

I would also like to thank the Big Band of RTV for playing my national anthem and yours. Let's give the band a hand, there. [Applause]

I have wanted to visit your country for a long time. The whole world admires Slovenia's success in building freedom and prosperity, and now we look to you to play a crucial role as we build a better future for all of Europe. Your great Olympic champion Leon Stukelj has now lived 100 years. He has lived throughout this century—the bloodiest and most turbulent in history, from the collapse of Austria-Hungary to the first Yugoslav State, from fascist invaders to Soviet forces to Tito's Yugoslavia. Think how many armies have marched through this square, how many flags have been raised over your city.

Now, at last, the flag flying in this capital stands for independence and democracy and the better life you are building. Congratulations, and God bless you.

All over the world, people seek the same kind of freedom and justice and peace that you have brought here—from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, to southern Africa, and in central and southeastern Europe. But we know these gains are fragile, for freedom's enemies hope for our failure. Therefore, we must keep moving forward, to deepen democracy and widen opportunity, to build genuine communities and lasting peace.

To succeed, we must begin with a simple truth: Racial and religious hatred has no place in a civilized society. That is why free nations stood against Mr. Milosevic's ethnic cleansing and killing in Kosovo. Now the Serb forces have left, the international security forces are moving in, and the Kosovars are going home. This is a great day for freedom.

I thank Slovenia for standing with NATO and for providing vital aid to the refugees. For all you have done, I am very, very grateful. Thank you.

Eight years ago Mr. Milosevic triggered a military assault on your nation. But you resisted. You secured your freedom, and you proclaimed: It will never be the same again. Now, all the people—all the people of every part of Europe must be able to say the same thing. Democracy, tolerance, and human rights must prevail everywhere. For no nation is safe, no prosperity is stable, if conflict and refugees and crime and terrorism can be pushed across borders.

We must build a Europe with no frontline states, a Europe undivided, democratic, and at peace for the first time in history. And Slovenia can lead the way. And America will help.

Today America and Slovenia have reached agreements to encourage more American companies to do business here, to expand trade and to do other things which will help your economy. And let me say to people all over the world who will see this on television, do not be deterred by the rain. [Laughter] This a wonderful country. Come here and help them build a future.

We also want to build Slovenia's security. You have stood with us in Kosovo. You have made progress in creating a modern military. You have established a demining trust to remove landmines and aid their victims. You have been a good partner, and you are an excellent candidate for NATO.

Let me also say that we want Serbia to be a part of the new Europe, but Serbia must reject the murderous rule of Mr. Milosevic and choose the path that Slovenia has chosen, where people reach across the old divides and find strength in their differences and their common humanity.

A decade ago, just as Mr. Milosevic was launching his campaign of ethnic terror, Slovenia chose a new national anthem, with a verse from your great poet and patriot France Preseren.

Your anthem—your anthem tells what Europe's future should be. The anthem praises those who work for the day when all will be free; when nations live as neighbors, not enemies; when war is banished from the world. Your vision is our vision.

Let us pursue it together, for all of Europe, so that for all your peoples, it will never be the same again.

Thank you, and God bless you.

On behalf of our delegation, my wife, my daughter, all of us, thank you for making us feel welcome. We never will forget this. I hope you won't either.

God bless you, and thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 6:22 p.m. in Congress Square. In his remarks, he referred to President Milan Kucan and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia; Mayor Viktorija Potocnik of Ljubljana; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The President also referred to RTV, Radio and Television of Slovenia.

Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by President Milan Kucan of Slovenia in Ljubljana

June 21, 1999

Mr. President, Mrs. Kucan, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished government officials, and citizens of Slovenia: It is a great honor for me, for Hillary, for Secretary Albright, indeed, for our entire American delegation to share this historic day with you.

Today we added a new chapter to the long story of our friendship. As you heard from the President, it is a friendship that goes back even before the history of the United States, when President Thomas Jefferson, the author of our Declaration of Independence, was looking for examples of democracy around the world, places where the people ruled.

The President gave you a—what I would call a delicate version of the example provided by the Corinthians to Thomas Jefferson. You see, Thomas Jefferson loved the fact that before assuming their titles, the old dukes of Corinthia were ceremoniously slapped by a local present to symbolize the right of the people to rebuff their leaders. Thomas Jefferson liked that. So did all future generations of Americans. [Laughter] Except they wait until after you're in office to do it. [Laughter]

Well, democracy is going strong again in Slovenia, and still your efforts inspire Americans. We are grateful for the many contributions of Slovenians to the strength and texture of our country, and we are grateful for the partnership that unites us today.

This spring, as both the President and the Prime Minister have said, that partnership met a great test. For the fourth time in this decade, Mr. Milosevic and Serbia launched a brutal campaign of violence, threatening the progress the people of this region have worked so hard to achieve. As you know from the daily television reports, the full horror of that campaign is only now becoming clear.

I would like to thank the President and the Prime Minister for all that you have done to protect democracy and the tolerance it needs to thrive. Now that ethnic cleansing has been defeated in Kosovo, we must build something better in its place throughout Europe, and especially in southeastern Europe.

You know, every leader likes to talk of the future, but today in your Congress Square I saw the future in the faces of the young people who braved the rains to express their support for our shared dreams. I saw those who will lead a free Slovenia into the new millennium.

Your history is enshrined in this magnificent castle we enjoy this evening, but your future is in those young people. And it is in good hands.

So I ask you now to rededicate yourselves to the dreams which brought the people out in the rain today. We owe it to them, to our forebears, and to generations yet unborn.

Please join me in a toast to the President, to the Prime Minister, and the people of this wonderful country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 p.m. in the Dining Hall at Brdo Castle. In his remarks, he referred to Stefka Kucan, wife of President Kucan; and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Kiro Gligorov of Macedonia in Skopje

June 22, 1999

Thank you very much, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, leaders of the Macedonian Government and political life, parties in Parliament who were freely elected last November.

I thank the President for his statement and would like to reply by saying that I came here for two reasons. First, I want to thank the leaders and the people of Macedonia for helping a just cause to prevail in Kosovo, for giving shelter and hope to the Kosovar refugees, and for welcoming our NATO troops who came here to help those refugees.

NATO could not have achieved its mission without you; the people of Kosovo would not be going home to security and autonomy without you. I came here, as much as anything else, to say thank you.

Second, I came here because I believe the United States, our NATO Allies and, indeed, all nations of the world who support the reversal of ethnic cleansing and respect for human rights and minority rights have a responsibility to help Macedonia to overcome the economic hardships that the recent crisis has imposed and to return to a path to prosperity and even stronger democracy and freedom.

Already, our total aid to Macedonia has more than tripled over last year to \$72 million; and today we will provide another \$12 million in food commodities. In the months ahead, we will do more. But we are also committed to the restoration of economic opportunity and jobs in Macedonia. Today I am delighted that an executive of the American company Liz Claiborne came with the First

Lady here to Macedonia to follow up on her trip and to announce that they would be reopening facilities and employing somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 of your people. We will encourage other American businesses now to look at Macedonia as a model of stability at the end of the conflict in Kosovo.

Finally, Mr. President, let me reaffirm once more our belief that in order to build a future of freedom and prosperity, in which human rights and minority rights are everywhere respected, in which nations are not torn apart by yesterday's hatreds and violence, we must make this Stability Pact a success. We must create real opportunities for ordinary citizens throughout southeastern Europe. And the United States is committed to doing that.

But the thing that is even more important, Mr. President, is that the Macedonian people and leaders are committed to that kind of future. I think it is worth noting that this country is not ethnically homogeneous. It has its own challenges. And yet, in spite of that, you were willing to take these refugees—300,000 of them; 50,000 have already gone home. You bore this burden at great cost and considerable risk so that we could together pursue a vision of southeastern Europe very different from what the horrible ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo represent.

We have stopped that; now it is time to build that better future. And I pledge to you, sir, that the United States will work with you, and we will do this together.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 1:48 p.m. in the President's Ceremonial Office at the Parliament Building. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski of Macedonia; and Paul R. Charron, chairman and chief executive officer, Liz Claiborne, Inc. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of President Gligorov.

Remarks to Kosovar Refugees at Stenkovic I Refugee Camp in Skopje

June 22, 1999

Thank you. Thank you very much. First of all, I would like to thank all the people

who have shared time with my family and me, all these children and their parents. And I would like to say a special word of appreciation to all the workers here who have come from all over the world to help you recover your lives. I thank them very much.

The second thing I would like to say is that I have brought with me a number of people who helped me make sure the United States and NATO did the right thing by the people of Kosovo, and they are also very proud to be here. And I want to thank them, and I hope you will thank them—Mr. Berger and all the other people on our team—because we're proud of what we did because we think it's what America stands for, that no one ever, ever should be punished and discriminated against or killed or uprooted because of their religion or their ethnic heritage. And we are honored to be here with you.

I just want to say a couple of more words before the rain comes down. The first thing is that we are committed not only to making Kosovo safe but to helping people rebuild their lives, rebuild their communities, and then to helping Kosovo and all the countries of the region build a brighter, more prosperous future based on respect for the human rights of all people.

Now, I promised all these wonderful people from all over the world who are here working for you that I would also say this: I know a lot of people are anxious to go home. Many have already left. But you know there are still a lot of landmines in the ground, on the routes into Kosovo, and in many of the communities. We are bringing in the best people in the world to take those mines up. Every year the United States does more than half that work all around the world. It is hard work; it is dangerous work. You have suffered enough. I don't want any child hurt. I don't want anyone else to lose a leg or an arm or a child because of a landmine.

So I ask you, please be patient with us. Give us a couple of more weeks to take the landmines up, if the people here ask you to do that, because you are going to be able to go back in safety and security. I want to make sure it is a happy return.

You have given my family and me a day we will remember for the rest of our lives. All we want is for you to be able to live your lives. But I ask you to remember that the United States did not act alone. All of our NATO Allies felt the same way, in Canada and Europe. And the President of the United States never acts alone—it is the American people who care about you, who believe in you, who want you to be free, who want you to be able to go home.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4:20 p.m. on the grounds of the camp. The transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the First Lady.

Remarks to Kosovo International Security Force Troops in Skopje

June 22, 1999

Thank you very much, General Clark, General Jackson, General Craddock, Colonel Ingram, ladies and gentlemen of the United States military. And as nearly as I can tell, we've got a few of our British counterparts back there and at least two Spanish officers over here somewhere.

And I just want to say, first of all, I am proud to have the soldiers, the marines, the air men and women, the naval forces of the United States of America serving in NATO. I am proud that we're part of KFOR. I'm proud that we're serving under an able commander like General Jackson. I am proud of Wes Clark.

You know, General Clark and I went through the agony of Bosnia together. He lost three good friends, who fell off a mountain because Mr. Milosevic wouldn't let them take the safe road to try to negotiate a peace. And we watched for 4 years while reasoned diplomacy tried to save lives and a quarter of a million people died and 2½ million refugees were created before NATO and our friends on the ground in Croatia and Bosnia forced a settlement there and ended the horror there.

This time we didn't wait. And it took 79 days, but that's a lot better than 4 years. And I hope the people of the world, when they see these horrible, horrible stories coming

out, the mass graves and all of that, just imagine what it would have been like if we had stepped to the side and not done what we did for the last 3 months.

I hope, to the day you die, you will be proud of being a part of a nation and a democratic alliance that believes that people should not be killed, uprooted, or destroyed because of their race, their ethnic background, or the way they worship God. I am proud of that, and I hope you are.

Let me also say to you that I just came from one of our refugee camps, and there are a lot of grateful people there. But you and I know that there's a lot to be done yet, and General Jackson's got a big job. And the United States is proud to be doing our part to help our allied efforts succeed there. We must not have one conflict and roll back ethnic cleansing and then lose the peace because we don't do every last thing just as we're supposed to do it.

So the whole credibility of the principle on which we have stood our ground and fought in this region for years and years now-that here, just like in America, just like in Great Britain, people who come from different racial and ethnic and religious backgrounds can live together and work together and do better together if they simply respect each other's God-given dignity-and we don't want our children to grow up in a 21st century world where innocent civilians can be hauled off to the slaughter, where children can die, en masse, where young boys of military age can be burned alive, where young girls can be raped, en masse, just to intimidate their families. We don't want our kids to grow up in a world like that.

Now, what it rides on is not the precision of our bombs, not in our power to destroy, but your power to build and to be safe while you're doing it and to protect the ethnic Kosovar Albanians and the ethnic Serbs alike. As long as they are innocent civilians, doing nothing wrong, they're entitled to protection—and to try to show by the power of your example, day-in and day-out, those of you that are going into Kosovo, that people can lay down their hatreds.

You need to think about telling your family stories. You need to think about how we can

help these people get over this awful, grievous thing. I saw a lot of little kids just a few minutes ago with a lot of hurt and terror and loss in their eyes. So you've got a big, big job left.

It is not free of danger; it will not be free of difficulty. There will be some days you wish you were somewhere else. But never forget, if we can do this here and if we can then say to the people of the world, whether you live in Africa, or central Europe, or any other place, if somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them, en masse, because of their race, their ethnic background, or their religion, and it's within our power to stop it, we will stop it.

And by the way, look at central Europe. These people can live together and prosper together. That's what we're trying to do. It can make a huge difference to our children in the new century. It may mean that Americans will never have to fight again in a big land war, because we just let things get out of hand and out of hand and out of hand until everything blew up and there was nothing else that could be done about it. This is very important.

And again I say, I hope you will always be proud of it. I hope you know how proud that I and the American people are of you. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:43 p.m. on the tarmac at Skopje Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Wesley K. Clark, USA, Supreme Allied Commander Europe; Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, British Royal Army, Commander, Kosovo International Security Force; Brig. Gen. John Craddock, USA, Commander, Task Force Falcon; Col. William E. Ingram, Jr., USA, Commander, Camp Able Sentry; and President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Supreme Court Decision on the Americans With Disabilities Act

June 22, 1999

I am pleased that the Supreme Court decision's in the *Olmstead* case upholds the purposes of the ADA by recognizing that unjustified isolation of institutionalized persons with

disabilities is prohibited discrimination. This decision will increase access to home- and community-based long-term care services and support for these persons.

My administration is committed to finding affordable ways to enable people who need long-term services and support to remain in the community if they choose and are able to do so. The best way to continue progress toward this goal is for State governments, the Federal Government, and the affected communities to work together to develop cost-effective ways to provide these services. We must ensure that the quality of these services is excellent and that they are available to persons with disabilities of all ages.

Therefore, I am asking Secretary Shalala and Attorney General Reno to work with all interested parties to carry out today's decision in a fair and effective manner. Although this may not be easy in some cases, we can do it by working together in order to advance the goals of the ADA. Our ultimate goal is a nation that integrates people with disabilities into the social mainstream, promotes equality of opportunity, and maximizes individual choice.

Statement on Senate Action on Steel Imports Limitation Legislation

June 22, 1999

Today's vote is a reaffirmation of America's commitment to open markets, to a strong U.S. economy, and to vigorous enforcement of our trade laws. The surge in steel imports has created significant hardship for many steelworkers and communities. But quota legislation was the wrong approach and would have weakened our economy and undermined our ability to tear down unfair trade barriers in foreign countries that hurt our workers, farmers, and companies. We must and will continue vigorous enforcement of our trade laws. Our actions have already cut imports to pre-crisis levels. I will continue to work with workers, industry, and Members of Congress to attack unfair trade practices and subsidies around the world.

Remarks to Operation Allied Force Troops at Aviano Air Base in Italy

June 22, 1999

Thank you very much. Well, Captain Davis, you are a pretty tough act to follow—[laughter]—and not short of self-confidence, either. That's good. [Laughter] I'd like to begin by saying that Hillary and I are delighted to be back in Aviano. We have been here several times to thank you, but never on an occasion more important than this.

I thank the Italian Minister of Defense, Mr. Scognamiglio, and his government and his Prime Minister, for their leadership, their strength, and their support for NATO during this operation. They have been terrific, and I thank them.

I would like to also say a special word of appreciation to our NATO Commander, our SACEUR, General Wes Clark, who led this conflict to a successful conclusion. Thank you, General Clark.

I want to thank Colonel Durigon, the Italian Base Commander; Ambassador Tom Foglietta, our Ambassador to Italy; Ambassador Lindy Boggs, our Ambassador to the Holy See. And, General Leaf, I want to thank you for your leadership and your remarkable statement here today.

We have been on a long trip to Europe. I have been, at various times, with not only Hillary and Chelsea but with Secretary of State Albright and National Security Adviser Berger, a large number of other people, on a long, long week very important to America. But I did not want to leave without having the chance to thank those of you who protect our freedom every single day, who fought for human dignity and won its cause in Kosovo. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Since the beginning of Operation Allied Force, I have actually traveled to six other bases involved in this effort: in the United States—Norfolk, Barksdale, and Whiteman in America; Spangdahlem, Ramstein, Ingleheim in Germany. But I wanted to come here to say a special word of thanks to the 16th Air Force, the 31st Air Expeditionary Wing, because of what you have done in Kosovo, because of the role this base played in Bosnia. You have repeatedly put your lives on the line to save the lives of inno-

cent civilians and turn back the tide of ethnic cleansing. Thank you again for this noble endeavor.

In 79 days, you did prove that a sustained air campaign under the right conditions can stop an army on the ground. The Serb forces have withdrawn from Kosovo; 20,000 allied KFOR troops are already in. You also stopped a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing and made it possible for us to reverse it. Protected by a peacekeeping force that includes NATO, Russia, and many other nations, the refugees are going back home. They have given new meaning, and you have given new meaning, to the motto of the 31st Fighter Wing. Thanks to you, they "Return With Honor."

Now that the conflict has been won, it is imperative that we and our NATO Allies and the others working with us win the peace. No one thinks it will take hold without difficulty. As more and more light is shed on those burned villages and even more mass graves than we dared to imagine, we become more and more appalled by the dark vision of Mr. Milosevic, and more and more certain we were right to stop it.

We have to win the peace with the same qualities with which you won the conflict—with determination and patience, with discipline and precision. We learned yesterday, again, that this, too, is a dangerous mission as we mourn the loss of two British soldiers who gave their lives trying to clear mines out of a house where they were placed solely to kill the returning refugees.

But thanks to you, the worst is already over in Kosovo. And tomorrow's dictators in other places will have to now take a harder look before they try to destroy or expel an entire people simply because of their race or religion.

General Leaf called you a championship team. Those are words well chosen. As he said, over 30,000 sorties flown, about 9,000 from here at Aviano, with zero combat fatalities; two planes down, both from here. In each case, the pilot recovered, first in 6 hours, the second in an hour and a half. That is a truly astonishing record.

And of course, we remember our two Army airmen who died in a training exercise in Albania. But I know, and I want the American people to know, that we could have had many more losses but for your skill and courage. Because I know that there were many occasions when our pilots avoided firing back at those who were firing on them because they were firing from heavily populated civilian areas. And I am grateful for that, as well.

So many of you deserve acknowledgement. I wish I could name you all. I probably will miss someone, but I'm going to do this anyway, because I love to hear you cheer when your names are called. [Laughter] It does me a lot of good—you know, we've been up for a week and we're a little tired and you get my adrenaline flowing.

So thank you to the Buzzards of the 510th Fighter Squadron—[applause]—the Bushmasters of the 78th—[applause]—the Black Panthers of the 494th—[applause]—the Triple Nickle—[applause]—the Star Warriors and Patriots and Yellowjackets from the Navy—[applause]—Playboys and Seahawks from the Marines—[applause]—the men and women deployed to Aviano from about 90 bases around America and Europe—[applause]—and the crews here from Spain, Canada, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. [Applause] You have to teach them to scream with the same fervor with which you scream. [Laughter]

I want to thank the people on the ground, the maintenance personnel, the weaponeers, the air traffic controllers, and the Italian citizens who work on this base and make its success possible.

I do want the American press to note that some of you have demonstrated abilities that will serve you well when you return to civilian life. The 31st Civil Engineers—[applause]—built a tent city here in just 4 days. And it is the envy of all the urban planners back home in America. There's no crime—[laughter]—decent sanitation, and extremely low unemployment—congratulations. [Laughter] Thank you.

I want to again, in front of all of you, express my profound gratitude for our remarkable NATO Alliance of 19 nations. This was a difficult, difficult struggle for many of our countries. It is a tribute to their people and to their leaders. When I visited Spangdahlem in Germany in May, I spoke with pilots who

told me how good it felt to look out of their cockpits and see aircraft from the other NATO nations lying beside them.

Now, under the leadership of General Jackson, with all 19 NATO nations working with the Russians and with many other countries, we are there in Kosovo to guarantee security, self-government, and a chance for all the people to rebuild.

Again, I want to say I am particularly grateful to Prime Minister D'Alema and the Italian people for giving us the chance to call Aviano home and for their solidarity throughout this operation. All of you know that Kosovo was not a distant crisis for the people of Italy; it was an immediate threat and a difficult one, indeed. The threat is now receding before a new vision of southeastern Europe, one in which the pull of our common humanity and the promise of shared prosperity are more powerful than the old forces of hatred and division.

I want to say a special word of appreciation to all of you in our Armed Forces for just being here. If you think about—I want you to really think about it-you think about what Kosovo was all about. People were taught to hate people who were from a different ethnic group than they were, who worshiped God in a different way. They started out by being afraid of them and misunderstanding them. Then, they came to hate them. And then after hating them for a good while, they came to dehumanize them. And once you decide that someone you're looking at is no longer a human being, it's not so hard to justify killing them, or burning them out of house and home, or torturing their children, or doing all the other things you have heard. It all starts—it all starts with the inability to recognize the inherent dignity and equality of someone who is different from ourselves.

The composition of our Armed Forces, with people from every race, every ethnic group, every religious persuasion, from all walks of life, that make up American society—the fact that our military has all of you in it is the most stunning rebuke to the claims of ethnic cleansing.

Now, we're going home. [Applause] I hope it's home you're cheering for and not the fact that I'm about to quit speaking. [Laughter]

But I just want to say to you, you make possible, by defending our interests and advancing them, the work of the United States at the end of the cold war, at the dawn of a new century and a new millennium. That is profoundly important.

Just think of what your country has been doing in the last week. I went to Cologne, Germany, to meet with the other large industrial powers of the world to plan for the new century; to change the financial rules so that we don't have other financial crises like the one we've had in Asia which causes big problems back in America, as well as for the people who are caught up in it; to provide dramatic increases in debt relief to the poorest countries of the world, to lift the burden of debt off their backs they can't pay anyway, as long as they'll put the savings into keeping their children alive and educating them and giving them good health care and ending the scourge of poverty in their country; to planning for the future of Kosovo and all of southeastern Europe.

Yesterday I went to Slovenia, where I saw what we can build here—a thriving nation which embraces democracy, rejects bigotry, and looks toward the future together. That's what we can do for all the Balkans, for all of southeastern Europe.

And I have just come from Macedonia, from the refugee camps, from the children singing and chanting "U.S.A! U.S.A! U.S.A!," knowing they are going to go home, knowing they don't have to go to bed at night afraid, knowing you have given them a chance to reclaim their lives in their native land.

And I met with our KFOR forces from the United States and Spain and France and Great Britain and Portugal. And they are very proud to be succeeding you to make sure that this mission is finally won.

Now, I know this has been difficult for many of you—to sleep 10 to a tent, work 12-hour shifts, 6 days a week; hard for a young pilot to leave a wife and two young children, going off into uncertain skies; hard for some of you to spend last Father's Day alone, waiting to hear your child's small voice a long way away on a telephone.

I want you to know that I am absolutely certain that you are building a better world for your children and that they will come to know that—if not now, then someday—they will understand what their fathers and their mothers who wore our uniform have done in the last year of the 20th century to save the people of Kosovo, to defeat ethnic cleansing, to start the new millennium in the right way—as a time of human rights and human dignity and allied confidence that together we can build a future worthy of our dreams for our children.

You have done that. I want you to know that your children will know it. And I, personally, am profoundly grateful.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

Note: The President spoke at 9:26 p.m. in Hangar 1A. In his remarks, he referred to Capt. Charles E. (Digger) Davis, USAF, 510th Fighter Squadron; Minister of Defense Carlo Scognamiglio and Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema of Italy; Gen. Wesley K. Clark, USA, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR); Col. Orfeo Durigon, Italian Air Force, Italian Base Commander; Brig. Gen. Daniel P. Leaf, USAF, Commander, 31st Air Expeditionary Wing; U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See Corinne Claiborne (Lindy) Boggs; President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro): Lt. Gareth Evans and Sgt. Balaram Rai, British Royal Army personnel killed in an explosion in Negrovce, Kosovo, on June 21; Apache helicopter pilots CW3 David A. Gibbs, USA, and CW2 Kevin L. Reichert, USA, who were killed in a training accident in Albania on May 5; and Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, British Royal Army, Commander, Kosovo International Security Force.

Statement on the 27th Anniversary of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972

June 23, 1999

On this 27th anniversary of the enactment of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, we celebrate what can be accomplished when we allow all Americans—men and women—equal opportunity to be their best. By opening doors previously closed, Title IX provides women and girls with quality opportunities for achievement in education—in academics as well as athletics.

Today we reflect on the profound changes this legislation has helped bring about in

American education, including changing expectations of women's achievements, lowering the dropout rate for women, and increasing opportunities in math and science. Since 1971, dramatically greater numbers of women have completed postsecondary, graduate, and professional degrees. Employment opportunities in many nontraditional professions for women have also opened up. The U.S. athletes in the Women's World Cup, currently being watched by millions of fans across the country, are shining examples of the value of increased participation in athletics by women.

While we have come a long way, there is still further progress to be made in undoing barriers to equal opportunity for women. We must continue to work to close the pay gap and ensure equal pay, enable men and women to meet their responsibilities at work and home, and end discrimination in the workplace. Too many women are paid less than men, and too many still experience discrimination in the workplace.

As we move forward towards the eradication of discrimination based on gender, we celebrate Title IX and our Nation's commitment to equality.

Note: The statement referred to Title IX—Prohibition of Sex Discrimination, part of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Public Law 92–318).

Statement on Federal Reserve Board Action on Information Collection on Loan Applicants

June 23, 1999

I am pleased that the Federal Reserve Board has acted on my administration's request by voting this morning to propose, under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, that lenders may choose to collect information about the race and gender of individuals applying for loans beyond home mortgages. This action is an important step to expand access to capital for all Americans. Allowing creditors to collect data for business and consumer loans will create greater innovation and increased access to credit, a higher level of voluntary compliance, and more effective fair lending enforcement.

Along with my administration's reform of the Community Reinvestment Act regulations, enactment of the community development financial institutions legislation, and the proposed new markets initiative, today's historic action by the Federal Reserve Board will ensure that more Americans have access to capital. The record has shown that the administration's community empowerment strategy is working in helping to revitalize our distressed inner-city neighborhoods and rural communities by spurring more private investment, igniting the spark of entrepreneurship, and providing opportunity for more Americans.

Memorandum on a Protocol to the Canada-United States Atomic Energy Agreement

June 23, 1999

Presidential Determination No. 99-30

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Energy

Subject: Presidential Determination on the Proposed Protocol Amending the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada

I have considered the proposed Protocol Amending the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada signed at Washington on June 15, 1955, as amended, along with the views, recommendations, and statements of the interested agencies.

I have determined that the performance of the Protocol will promote, and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to, the common defense and security. Pursuant to section 123b. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2153(b)), I hereby approve the proposed Protocol and authorize you to arrange for its execution.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

William J. Clinton

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission

June 23, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 307(c) of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 5877(c)), I transmit herewith the Annual Report of the United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which covers activities that occurred in fiscal year 1997.

William J. Clinton

The White House, June 23, 1999.

Statement on the Proposed "Employment Non-Discrimination Act"

June 24, 1999

Today Members of the House and Senate will reintroduce, on a bipartisan basis, the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act" ("ENDA"). This important civil rights legislation would extend basic employment discrimination protections to gay and lesbian Americans. I strongly support this bill, and we will work hard for its passage.

Americans instinctively believe in fairness. They believe that individuals should not be denied a job on the basis of something that has no relationship to their ability to perform their work. Yet most Americans don't know that men and women in 39 States of this Nation may be fired from their jobs solely because of their sexual orientation, even when it has no bearing on their job performance. Sadly, as congressional hearings have documented, this kind of job discrimination is not rare.

Those who face job discrimination based on sexual orientation usually have no legal recourse, in either our State or Federal courts. This is wrong. Last year I issued an Executive order making permanent a longstanding Federal policy against discrimination based on sexual orientation in the civilian Federal workplace. I hope that Congress will make that policy a national one by passing this important legislation.

I applaud the bipartisan efforts of Senators Jeffords, Kennedy, and Lieberman and Congressmen Shays and Frank to make the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act" the law. "ENDA" failed to win passage by only one vote when the Senate last considered it. My administration will continue to work for its passage until it becomes law.

NOTE: The statement referred to Executive Order 13087 of May 28, 1999 (63 FR 30097).

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to the Lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979

June 24, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)) and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), I transmit herewith a 6-month periodic report on the national emergency declared by Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994, to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

William J. Clinton

The White House, June 24, 1999.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Protocol to the Canada-United States Atomic Energy Agreement With Documentation

June 24, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress, pursuant to sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the

Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2153(b) and (d)), the text of a proposed Protocol Amending the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada signed at Washington on June 15, 1955, as amended. I am also pleased to transmit my written approval, authorization, and determination concerning the Protocol, and an unclassified Nuclear Proliferation Assessment Statement (NPAS) concerning the Protocol. (In accordance with section 123 of the Act, as amended by Title XII of the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-277), I have submitted to the Congress under separate cover a classified annex to the NPAS, prepared in consultation with the Director of Central Intelligence, summarizing relevant classified information.) The joint memorandum submitted to me by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Energy and a letter from the Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission stating the views of the Commission are also enclosed.

The proposed Protocol has been negotiated in accordance with the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and other applicable law. In my judgment, it meets all statutory requirements and will advance the non-proliferation and other foreign policy interests of the United States.

The Protocol amends the Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada in two respects:

- 1. It extends the Agreement, which would otherwise expire by its terms on January 1, 2000, for an additional period of 30 years, with the provision for automatic extensions thereafter in increments of 5 years each unless either Party gives timely notice to terminate the Agreement; and
- 2. It updates certain provisions of the Agreement relating to the physical protection of materials subject to the Agreement.

The Agreement itself was last amended on April 23, 1980, to bring it into conformity with all requirements of the Atomic Energy Act and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978. As amended by the proposed Protocol, it will continue to meet all requirements of U.S. law.

Canada ranks among the closest and most important U.S. partners in civil nuclear cooperation, with ties dating back to the early days of the Atoms for Peace program. Canada is also in the forefront of countries supporting international efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries. It is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and has an agreement with the IAEA for the application of full-scope safeguards to its nuclear program. It also subscribes to the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) Guidelines, which set forth standards for the responsible export of nuclear commodities for peaceful use, and to the Zangger (NPT Exporters) Committee Guidelines, which oblige members to require the application of IAEA safeguards on nuclear exports to nonnuclear weapon states. It is a party to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, whereby it has agreed to apply international standards of physical protection to the storage and transport of nuclear material under its jurisdiction or control.

Continued close cooperation with Canada in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, under the long-term extension of the U.S.-Canada Agreement for Cooperation provided for in the proposed Protocol, will serve important U.S. national security, foreign policy, and commercial interests.

I have considered the views and recommendations of the interested agencies in reviewing the proposed Protocol and have determined that its performance will promote, and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to, the common defense and security. Accordingly, I have approved the Protocol and authorized its execution and urge that the Congress give it favorable consideration.

This transmission shall constitute a submittal for purposes of both sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act. My Administration is prepared to begin immediate consultations with the Senate Foreign Relations and House International Relations Committees as provided in section 123 b. Upon completion of the 30-day continuous session period provided for in section 123 b.,

the 60-day continuous session period provided for in 123 d. shall commence.

William J. Clinton

The White House, June 24, 1999.

Remarks to the Presidential Scholars *June 25, 1999*

Thank you very much. Danielle, you did a fine job. Didn't she do a good job? I thought she was great. Thank you.

I'd also like to thank my good friend Father O'Donovan for allowing me to come back to my alma mater to make this speech and to be with you; and Bruce Reed, for the superb use he has made of the Presidential scholarship he got—he does a wonderful job in our office. I hope you got the joke he made about how he looks younger than you. We all rag him about how young he looks. Actually, when I was his age, I looked young, too. And then it just overcame me. [Laughter]

I want to congratulate the Presidential scholars, the teachers, parents who are here. I am delighted to have this chance to be with you. Because I have been on an extended trip to Europe, I actually want to take a few moments to give a serious talk about where we are in Washington today and where we are in America and to talk to you a little bit about the whole nature of our public life and politics.

Nearly 8 years ago, as Bruce said, I came to this hall, where I sat many times as a student, to ask America to join me on a journey, to go beyond what were then the competing ideas of the old political establishment in Washington that dominated the entire decade of the 1980's. People, on the one hand, said Government was bad, and we should get it out of everybody's life and leave people alone to fend for themselves, or on the other hand, said Government was good and could solve most of our problems if it were just free to do so.

I asked the American people instead to embrace a new way, something I called a New Covenant between America and its Government; an agreement with the citizens and their Government that we would jointly pursue opportunity for all Americans, responsibility from all Americans, and a community of all Americans. I believed it would bring America back to prosperity.

Over the years since I became President, I have come back to this hall several times to discuss in more specific terms the progress we have made in building that New Covenant and the opportunities still to be seized, the responsibilities still to be shouldered, the pillars of community still to be built.

Washington is pretty far away from most American's lives most of the time. It is tempting for people in public life here, who are so far away from you, to fall into easy rhetoric in positioning themselves against their opponents. But politics at its best is about values, ideas, and action. When it is that, it becomes public service, and it is a noble endeavor.

Let me give you some examples of the ideas we've had here. When I came here, our administration believed we could balance the budget and increase our investment in education, in technology, in research, in training people for the future. Those ideas, turned into action, have given us 18.6 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, the highest homeownership ever, the longest peacetime expansion in history. And along the way we have virtually opened the doors of college to all Americans with the HOPE scholarship, the other tuition tax credit, improvements in the student loan program, a million work-study positions. We're well on our way to connecting every classroom in the country to the Internet by the year 2000.

We believed that we could reform welfare and make it good for work and for families. That idea, turned into action, has cut the welfare rolls in half, while maintaining health and nutrition benefits for poor children and increasing our investment in child care for lower income workers.

We believed we could make our streets safer by putting more police on the streets and taking guns out of the hands of people who shouldn't have them. Those ideas, put into action, have given us a 25-year low in the crime rate.

We believed we could grow the economy and improve the environment. That idea, put into action, has given us cleaner air, cleaner water, millions of acres of land set aside from the California redwoods to the Florida Everglades. It has allowed us in the field of public health to have safer food and, for the first time in history, 90 percent of our children immunized against serious childhood diseases. And the economy has gotten better, not worse, as we have taken steps to advance the environment and public health.

We believed that young people in our country, if given the chance, would serve in their communities and that they ought to be given a chance to earn some education credit. That idea, put into practice, produced AmeriCorps, our national service program, which in just 5 years has already had over 100,000 young people working in communities all across America, a milestone it took the Peace Corps 20 years to reach.

And we believed America could be the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity and security. Those ideas, turned into action, have given us over 250 trade agreements, new partnerships for America with Latin America and Africa, new initiatives against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, progress on peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East, a stand against ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and now in Kosovo, where with our Allies we have said that when innocent civilians are uprooted or slaughtered because of their race or their religion, if we can stop it, we will do so.

We still have a lot of work to finish the job in Kosovo. We still have many challenges abroad, from peace in Northern Ireland and the Middle East, to our continuing efforts to help relieve the debt burdens of poor nations, to our efforts to stabilize the global economy. But I came back to Washington after my trip to Europe with a renewed energy for the domestic agenda. And I'd like to talk to you about it today, about the things we can do here today that will affect your communities today and very much affect your futures tomorrow.

With our present prosperity, we actually have a rare opportunity to meet the remaining large challenges facing our country on the brink of a new century. But to do it, both parties must work together. There will be plenty of time for politics in the year and

a half ahead, but this summer must be a season of progress.

Just think how far we've come in the last decade. When I came here to speak in 1991 America was drifting toward a new century without direction. Now, our people, working with common purpose, have brought the Nation back to a position of unprecedented strength, with greater prosperity, greater safety, more social healing, more national leadership for the United States around the world.

Our economy is perhaps the strongest in our history, and something you may know more about than I do, it is increasingly clear that it is being powered in large measure by a once-in-a-lifetime technological revolution. For example, the high-tech sector accounts for only 8 percent of our economy but for fully one-third of the growth we've had over the last $6\frac{1}{2}$ years.

We are now seeing an explosion of technology—and productivity along with it—from the Internet that links offices around the world to computers used to track warehouse inventories. You will have the chance, thanks to technology, to work in jobs that have not been created yet, in industries that have not yet been imagined. But right now we are benefiting immensely for it. Just this morning we learned that in the last quarter, our economy grew at the brisk rate of 4.3 percent, with virtually no inflation. If we can keep that going, that's very good for your future.

I think that those of us who work here now will be judged, however, primarily by whether we choose to seize this opportunity to ensure your future, not just the short-term but the long-term, or will it be squandered with petty arguments and animosities and special interest politics.

I regret to say that the atmosphere in Washington has become increasingly poisoned by bitter partisanship. I don't understand exactly why, since we keep doing better and better and better in America. It may be that some people believe they have the luxury of engaging in shortsighted partisanship because the country is doing so well. I think that is a bad misreading of reality.

Moreover, it is clear to me that in the last few weeks our Nation has come together in an unprecedented consensus of conscience and common sense on issues like gun violence, where the Congress, unfortunately, buckled under to special interest pressure. Partisanship has even paralyzed the basic work of writing our spending bills, something we have to do here every year. Let me give you an example.

Not very long ago, I issued an order saying that the United States Government would cut our greenhouse gas emissions coming out of our buildings by 30 percent over the next few years to meet our responsibility to deal with the challenge of global warming. Now, you have to understand, this doesn't cost you anything. This saves you money. We're going to reduce our energy use so that we reduce our greenhouse gas emissions coming out of our facilities by 30 percent. It's a no-brainer. It's no money, nothing. The only people that lose are the people that won't be pumping electricity to us.

Unbelievably enough, just yesterday, a Senate committee voted to largely block my executive action to cut the Government's emissions by 30 percent, an action that would save you \$750 million a year.

Now, I think I can stop that. But it's an example of what happens when adults with responsibility fall into small-time wrangling and even want to stop things that are 100 percent good and not controversial.

I say again, the interesting thing to me is if you look at all the surveys or just go out and talk to people or if we would sit down and talk, you would see that across party lines, across regional lines, across income lines, there is actually quite a remarkable consensus emerging in America on a number of issues—outside Washington. But the American people have to depend on those of us who work in Washington to take the consensus ideas they have embraced and turn those ideas into action.

Remember what I said at the beginning: Politics at its best involves values, ideas, and action, and the balancing of all those things in ways that change lives.

Now, some other people here really believe that because the Presidential election season has already started, the battle for Con-

gress has already started, even though it's a year and however many months away, that the best politics is just to run out the clock and wait until the next election and hope that the country is doing so well and we enjoy the lazy days of summer so much, nobody will notice. I don't agree with that, either.

And I would like to say to you, as young people, there are an awful lot of very good people in public life who don't think that way, who want to get things done. And I hope someday many of you will be among them. But you will find that all of your life one of the greatest struggles you have to embrace is against being small, against being defensive or angry or combative for the sake of it, or thinking about some slight that someone imposed on you yesterday, instead of some good thing you can do today and tomorrow.

And we have to break out of that now. This country has not had an opportunity like this, with this level of prosperity and this level of progress on social problems, in decades. And there actually is quite a lot we can do.

For example, there are things, believe it or not, that both parties agree on here. We should certainly act on them. [Laughter] And then there are things on which we have honest disagreements. On those, we should seek to find honorable compromise. The American people give us these jobs to get things done. In the weeks and months ahead, I will do all I can, working with Congress, taking executive action, summoning citizens to deal with these challenges. But first let's start with what we agree on. You might be surprised by the list.

To make sure that Americans should never have to choose between going to work and paying their medical bills, we must pass the proposal to let disabled Americans keep their Medicaid health insurance when they take a job. Believe it or not, people who normally who get Medicaid lose their insurance if they take a job. The problem is a lot of disabled people can't get any other insurance. Their bills may be \$40,000, \$50,000 a year. But all of us are better off if those folks can go to work. They are more fulfilled. They are living their lives better. They also become tax-paying citizens. And whatever their medical bills

are, they would be paid, regardless, by Medicaid.

So we now have a bill that solves a huge problem. And believe it or not, almost every-body agrees on it, Republicans and Democrats alike. So let's start with that, the easy one and a very good one, that will help untold numbers of Americans and their families. Congress should pass it, and I will sign it.

To honor work and strengthen our families, we should raise the minimum wage. There are still too many people who work 40 hours a week whose children are in poverty. Democrats and many, many Republicans agree that we should do this. So Congress should pass it, and I will sign it.

To renew our elections and stem the rising tide of campaign spending, we must pass strong campaign finance reform. Finally, after years, it appears that a majority of law-makers in both parties, in both the Senate and House, agree. But the leaders of the Republican majority are blocking the bill. Instead, they ought to let the Congress vote—everybody votes his or her conscience. But if it passes—and I believe it would—I would certainly sign it.

To protect the interest of 160 million Americans who use managed care, we should pass a strong, enforceable, and bipartisan Patients' Bill of Rights. Now, you all probably know what the problems are here: More and more Americans are going into managed care, and managed care has done a lot of good in our country to slow the rise in health care costs. But we should not ask people to sacrifice quality of care.

Our Patients' Bill of Rights would simply say that if you're in an HMO or any other kind of health care plan, you wouldn't lose a right to see your specialist, if you needed; you wouldn't give up the right to go to the nearest emergency room if you were hurt in an accident—believe it or not, some people do in their plan—you couldn't be forced to give up your doctor in the middle of a treatment. For example, if you were 6 months pregnant and your employer changed health care providers, you couldn't be required to change doctors, or if you were in the middle of a chemotherapy treatment and your employer changed health care providers, you wouldn't give it up. And you would have a

right to protect yourself to make sure these rights were enforceable.

Now, these problems have been evident now for the last few years. Yesterday we learned that it had gotten so bad, that doctors are so angry that the doctor-patient relationship is being breached by insurance company accountants' meddling, that they're even organizing a union to bargain with the HMO's.

Now, again, I've seen survey after survey after survey. There is no partisan issue here. Republicans and Democrats and independents all get sick. [Laughter] Right? I mean, they do. There's not a partisan issue here. Most doctors are Republicans; most nurses are Democrats. [Laughter] So what? This is not a big deal. This is not a partisan issue anywhere in the whole country but Washington, DC.

Over 200 medical and consumer organizations have endorsed this Patients' Bill of Rights, and one has opposed it, the health insurance companies. Now, if we get a vote on this—because out in America, doctors, nurses, and patients agree, and Democrats and Republicans will agree—it will fly like a hot knife through butter. But again, the leadership of the Congress is trying to find a way to block the bill. It's not right. So I say again, just let everybody vote his or her conscience. And if they send it to me—and they will—I will sign it.

Now, these are measures awaiting action that could be enacted quickly. And if America will send a signal to Congress that they want action, we can pass them.

There are some, however, broader, more fundamental and, frankly, more difficult issues that I hope we can resolve this year. First, I believe, as I said in my State of the Union Address, that we have a duty to you to use the bulk of this surplus over the next 15 years to solve the long-term challenges of Social Security and Medicare and to do it in a way that pays down our national debt.

Now, why? Because that means that future generations will have guaranteed income and health care in their retirement years. And it means as we pay down the debt, we will keep interest rates low, investment high, and guarantee when you get out of college there will be lots of good jobs available because we'll have a stronger and stronger and stronger

economy. We can actually get rid of America's debt over the next 18 years if we will do this.

So I hope, even though we have honest, here, honest philosophical differences about what the best way to reform Medicare is, what the best way to reform Social Security is, the point is we ought to be able to proceed in a spirit of honorable compromise because the goals are so important and the stakes are so high and because, frankly, the choices are a lot easier when you have a surplus than when you have a big deficit.

Next week I will propose a detailed plan to strengthen Medicare, to cut its costs, to modernize its operations, to use competition and innovation, to strengthen the core guarantee of quality care for all Americans who are elderly and eligible. I will also, for the first time, propose a way to help senior citizens with their greatest growing need, affordable prescription drugs. It is a huge issue out there for seniors.

Now, finding agreement on Social Security and Medicare will be hard. Finding agreement on tax cuts will be hard, although I hope the Congress will at least adopt targeted tax credits for long-term care and child care that I proposed. But we can do it. Now, regardless, Congress has to pass a budget this year. We must decide on how to use the surplus. So I hope we can work together to make progress on these goals.

Second, we ought to continue to advance our economy by doing more for the education of our people. As we have balanced the budget and cut the size of the Federal Government—listen to this—we have cut the size of the Federal Government to the same size it was when I was your age. The Federal Government now is the same size it was in 1962. That was a long time ago. [Laughter] Anyway, as we have done that, we have nearly doubled our investment in education and training. Why? Because, as was said in my introduction, the information age will be the education age.

Last year, at my urging, with school populations in our country at record highs, Congress passed a budget that began to hire 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early years. Unbelievably to me, in the budget the majority is now writing, they re-

peal their pledge to finish the job of hiring those teachers. I just want Congress to keep its word. I think when you tell people something in an election year, you ought to still be for it the next year when there is no election.

I have also sent Congress an ambitious education reform plan because this is a year, as we do every 5 years, we have to reauthorize the general program under which we give money to schools all over America. And I believe we should dramatically change it to hold schools and school districts and States more accountable for results and to give them more funds for after-school, summer school programs, and to target and turn around failing schools.

It is controversial. But it is based on what is working in the States that are having success in lifting all their schools in student achievement. Again I say, there may be those who disagree with me philosophically; we ought to have an open debate about this and come to an honorable compromise. We do not have to continue to spend money in the same old way when we know we can spend it more effectively based on what we have seen in our schools.

Third, let me say something that I hope will be important to all of you and has, doubtless, been experienced by some of you. We've got the strongest economy on record, all right, but there are still too many poor neighborhoods and rural communities where prosperity is something you read about, not experience. And I believe we should be committed to going into this new century leaving no one behind. This is not only a good thing to do ethically; it is also good economics.

I keep thinking every day, now, how can we continue to grow this economy? How can we drive unemployment even lower, create even more jobs, without having inflation? One way is to find new investment in America. So I say to you, we've spent a lot of time seeking new markets abroad, but our most important new markets are right here at home.

Two weeks from now, for 4 days, I will lead an unprecedented trip across America so our country can see the places I'm talking about. I'll go to the hills and hollows of Kentucky, to the Mississippi Delta, to a poor

community in the Midwest, to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, to Phoenix, to inner-city Los Angeles. I'll be joined by distinguished corporate leaders and political leaders of both parties. Again, this is something that should not be a political issue at all. We want to shine a spotlight on the pockets of poverty that remain in America and on the potential they have for new investment, new jobs, new hope, new opportunity.

I will ask Congress to do its part by passing my new markets initiative. It provides for tax incentives and loan guarantees for people to invest in these areas, the same kind of incentives we give people today to invest in emerging economies abroad. I think that whatever we encourage people to do abroad, we ought to give the same encouragement to do at home, to give our people those kinds of chances.

Finally, I think we ought to do more to protect our young people from violence, to redeem the awful sacrifice of the children of Littleton, of the other school shootings, of the 13 American children we lose every single day to gun violence.

After Littleton, our whole Nation came together in grief and determination. We know there are many causes of youth violence, and therefore, there must be many solutions. Hilary and I are launching a national campaign against youth violence to bring all kinds of people from all sectors of our communities together. We have done this before, like Mothers and Students Against Drunk Driving dramatically reduced drunk driving in America, just for one example. And we can do that.

Of course, more must be done at home. Young people can have a greater influence on each other—schools, houses of worship, other places where children gather can do better. The entertainment community must do more to stop marketing violence to children. I'm proud that theater owners have agreed—[applause]—I wonder if that's coming more from the adults or the young people. [Laughter]

I feel very strongly about this. I'm proud that theater owners agreed that from now on, young people will be carded for R and PG-13 movies. I'm glad, thanks to the Vice

President and Mrs. Gore, that next year TV's will have the V-chip in half of all new TV's sold and that Internet and video game companies are helping with ratings and blocking technologies. We have our differences with various sectors of the entertainment community from time to time, but they have actually done quite a lot with the TV rating systems, the video game rating systems, the blocking technologies in the last few years, and they deserve credit for what they have done, as well as urging to do more.

But we have to face the fact that if you have more children spending more time alone—and let me say that one big difference between the time when I was your age, or even Bruce was your age, and today, in America as a whole: The average—average—young person spends 22 hours per week less with his or her parents than 30 years ago. From birth through age 18, that's over 2 years less time that the average young person spends with his or her parents—over 2 years. You don't notice it so much; it's just a few hours a day.

Why is that? More single parents, more working parents, more people living in suburbs spending more time going to and from work. Everybody is busy, busy, busy. And most of you are turning out just fine, and most of your parents are doing the best they can and doing a fine job. But we shouldn't minimize the fact that when this happens, the most vulnerable children among us will be even more vulnerable.

And that is why this whole entertainment culture counts—not because of you but because there are among us always vulnerable people. And there will be more of them, and they will be more vulnerable. And that's why the access to guns matters.

I've heard this—I got a letter the other day from a really nice person that I admire, saying, "Mr. President, we've got all these laws on the books, and if somebody wants a gun they can get it." Now, if you say that, it seems self-evident, since there's way over 220 million guns in the country. It seems self-evident. But let's look at the facts here.

Since we passed the Brady law, over the strenuous objections of the gun lobby, who then said that no criminal ever gets a gun from a gun store—just since we passed the

Brady law in 1993, we have put a stop to some 400,000 illegal gun sales, without stopping one legitimate sports man or woman from buying a gun. And you cannot convince any reasonable person in law enforcement that those 400,000 stops didn't have something to do with the fact that we have a 25-year low in the crime rate and an even bigger plummet in many areas of gun-related violent crime.

Now, in the wake of the shootings after Littleton, I asked the Senate to pass a commonsense measure to help prevent youth violence by doing more in this vein to keep guns out the hands of criminals and children. For one thing, we should close the loophole that lets a criminal turned away from a gun dealer go to a gun show or a flea market in a city and buy a gun without a background check. The technology is there now for these background checks to be done without great burden to people who run gun shows and flea markets. But today they can buy a gun there, no questions asked.

Now, the same people who said in 1993 that no criminals buy their guns at gun stores, they buy them other places, say that we should not have background checks at the other places. I think we should. I think we should require that safety locks be sold with every handgun. We should ban the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips. We should say violent juveniles should not own guns when they become adults.

It took a pivotal vote by Vice President Gore to break a tie in the Senate so that the Senate did the right thing in closing the gun show loophole. Unfortunately, as most of you probably know, 2 weeks ago, the Republicans in the House of Representatives, with some Democrats but not many, shot down America's best hope for commonsense gun control—in the face of strong public demand, clear public need, and again I say, out in the country, no partisanship.

The House filled the proposal full of high-caliber loopholes. And now they say they want to watch it die. The majority even pushed measures to weaken current law, for example, letting criminals store their guns at pawnshops, even if the reason they need to store it is because they're taking a sabbatical in prison. [Laughter] They say if they come

back to get the gun, there shouldn't be a background check. [Laughter] We've had a pawnshop background check for a good while now. They want to get rid of that, as if that is somehow terribly burdensome to people.

Well, I think we can do better than that. But I don't know how we can expect you to stand up to youth violence if the Congress won't stand up to the gun lobby. We have got to—[applause].

So again, I say, it's not too late. The House and the Senate will now appoint conferees on this bill, because they have passed two different bills. Those people can put the provisions the Senate passed into the bill, send it to the House and the Senate, pass it, and I'll sign it. It's important that we strengthen, not weaken, our laws that make it easier for criminals to get and keep guns.

Okay, so let's go back and review the bidding here. We have a raft of bipartisan bills: health care for the disabled; the minimum wage; campaign finance reform; the Patients' Bill of Rights. We have big issues on which there are disagreements but where honorable compromise is possible: long-term reform of Social Security and Medicare; paying down the debt. We have a clear case where Republicans and Democrats should join together to mobilize private capital to give new life to our poorest communities: legislation to hire more teachers and to raise educational standards; sensible but vital steps to protect our children from violence.

These are big things. These are things worthy of a great nation and its elected representatives. I will work day and night to achieve this agenda. I hope you will support it, again, without regard to party. And I hope you will believe that good citizenship and public service are worth your time and effort.

Many times when I have come here, and many times around the country, I have referred to a professor I had here, who I talked about in 1991, who taught Western Civilization. He said, our civilization was unique in the belief of what he called "future preference." That is, the idea that the future can be better than the past, and that every individual has a duty to make it so.

Now, you obviously believe that or you wouldn't be here. I'm about to give you all your medal, and we're going to take pictures.

And it's a whole monument to years and years and years of your effort believing in tomorrow, right? It is. You wouldn't be here if you didn't. And that belief has had a lot to do with your Nation's success over the last 220-plus years. It has driven my public life. And it was validated again a few days ago by the pain and the hope I saw in the faces of the children of Kosovo.

The more we think about tomorrow, the more energy, determination, and wisdom we have for the challenges of today.

I believe in your future. I believe America's best days lie in the new millennium. I ask Congress to help me make it so.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:58 a.m. in Gaston Hall at Georgetown University. In his remarks, he referred to Presidential scholar Danielle Huff, who introduced the President; and Father Leo J. O'Donovan, president, Georgetown University.

Statement on House Action on the "Foster Care Independence Act of 1999"

June 25, 1999

Hillary and I are pleased that the House of Representatives, by an overwhelming bipartisan margin, today approved H.R. 1802, the "Foster Care Independence Act of 1999." This legislation recognizes that we have a responsibility to ensure that youth in foster care have the tools they need to make the most of their lives. I am pleased that the measure builds on the proposals in my budget request to provide those leaving foster care with access to health care and to expand and improve educational opportunities, training, housing assistance, counseling, and other support and services.

Each year, approximately 20,000 young people leave our Nation's foster care system at age 18 without an adoptive family or other permanent family relationship, but Federal financial support ends just as they are making the critical transition to independence. Without the emotional, social, and financial support that families provide, many of these

young people are not adequately prepared for life on their own.

For our Nation's foster youth, their 18th birthday can be the start of a very tough road alone. This bill is an important step forward to help them in their struggle to become successful, independent adults. The end of foster care should not be the end of caring for these young people.

I'd like to thank Representatives Nancy Johnson and Ben Cardin, the sponsors of the "Foster Care Independence Act of 1999," for their hard work and dedication to this issue. I look forward to working with them and with Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle in the months ahead to enact meaningful and fiscally responsible legislation to enable these young people to live up to their God-given potential.

NOTE: The release issued by the Office of the Press Secretary also announced that audio remarks by the President would be available on the White House Press Office Radio Actuality Line.

Statement on Accepting the Invitation To Serve as Honorary Chairman of the Presidents Cup

June 25, 1999

I am pleased to accept the invitation to serve as honorary chairman of the Presidents Cup, one of the premier international events in golf. I thank Commissioner Tim Finchem and the PGA Tour as well as the participating international golf tours for this invitation. It is an honor to succeed Presidents George Bush and Gerald Ford, as well as Australian Prime Minister John Howard, as honorary chairman of this event.

I know that, more and more, people around the world share America's enthusiasm for golf. The Presidents Cup helps bring our countries together in spirited and good-natured competition. In 1996 I was glad to attend the Presidents Cup at Robert Trent Jones Golf Club, and I am looking forward to another display of skill and sportsmanship by the United States and international teams in October 2000.

Executive Order 13128— Implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Act

June 25, 1999

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Act of 1998 (as enacted in Division I of Public Law 105-277) (the Act), the **International Emergency Economic Powers** Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in order to facilitate implementation of the Act and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction (the "Convention"), it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Department of State shall be the United States National Authority (the "USNA") for purposes of the Act and the Convention

- **Sec. 2.** The USNA shall coordinate the implementation of the provisions of the Act and the Convention with an interagency group consisting of the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Energy, and the heads of such other agencies or departments, or their designees, I may consider necessary or advisable.
- **Sec. 3.** The Departments of State and Commerce, and other agencies as appropriate, each shall issue, amend, or revise regulations, orders, or directives as necessary to implement the Act and U.S. obligations under Article VI and related provisions of the Convention. Regulations under section 401(a) of the Act shall be issued by the Department of Commerce by a date specified by the USNA, which shall review and approve these regulations, in coordination with the interagency group designated in section 2 of this order, prior to their issuance.
- **Sec. 4.** The Secretary of Commerce is authorized:
- (a) to obtain and execute warrants pursuant to section 305 of the Act for the purposes

- of conducting inspections of facilities subject to the regulations issued by the Department of Commerce pursuant to section 3 of this order.
- (b) to suspend or revoke export privileges pursuant to section 211 of the Act; and
- (c) to carry out all functions with respect to proceedings under section 501(a) of the Act and to issue regulations with respect thereto, except for those functions that the Act specifies are to be performed by the Secretary of State or the USNA.
- **Sec. 5.** The Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, and Energy, and other agencies as appropriate, are authorized to carry out, consistent with the Act and in accordance with subsequent directives, appropriate functions that are not otherwise assigned in the Act and are necessary to implement the provisions of the Convention and the Act.
- **Sec. 6.** The Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, and Energy, and other agencies, as appropriate, are authorized to provide assistance to facilities not owned or operated by the U.S. Government, or contracted for use by or for the U.S. Government, in meeting reporting requirements and in preparing the facilities for possible inspection pursuant to the Convention.
- **Sec. 7.** The USNA, in coordination with the interagency group designated in section 2 of this order, is authorized to determine whether disclosure of confidential business information pursuant to section 404(c) of the Act is in the national interest. Disclosure will not be permitted if contrary to national security or law enforcement needs.
- **Sec. 8.** In order to take additional steps with respect to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and means of delivering them and the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order 12938 of November 14, 1994, as amended by Executive Order 13094 of July 30, 1998, section 3 of Executive Order 12938, as amended, is amended to add a new subsection (e) to read as follows:
 - "(e) the Secretary of Commerce shall impose and enforce such restrictions on the importation of chemicals into the United States as may be necessary to carry out the requirements of the Convention on the

Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction."

Sec. 9. Any investigation emanating from a possible violation of this order, or of any license, order, or regulation issued pursuant to this order, involving or revealing a possible violation of 18 U.S.C. section 229 shall be referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which shall coordinate with the referring agency and other appropriate agencies. The FBI shall timely notify the referring agency and other appropriate agencies of any action it takes on such referrals.

Sec. 10. Nothing in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 11. (a) This order shall take effect at 12:01 a.m. eastern daylight time, June 26, 1999

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*

William J. Clinton

The White House, June 25, 1999.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:33 p.m., June 25, 1999]

NOTE. This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on June 28.

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Weapons of Mass Destruction

June 25, 1999

To the Congress of the United States:

On November 14, 1994, in light of the danger of the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (weapons of mass destruction) and of the means of delivering such weapons, using my authority under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order 12938, declaring a national emergency to deal with this danger.

Because the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, I have renewed the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12938 annually, most recently on November 12, 1998. Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)), I hereby report to the Congress that I have exercised my statutory authority to further amend Executive Order 12938 in order to more effectively respond to the worldwide threat of weapons of mass destruction proliferation activities.

The new Executive order, which implements the Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Act of 1998, strengthens Executive Order 12938 by amending section 3 to authorize the United States to implement important provisions of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction, a multilateral agreement that serves to reduce the threat posed by chemical weapons. Specifically, the amendment enables the United States Government to ensure that imports into the United States of certain chemicals from any source are permitted in a manner consistent with the relevant provisions of the Convention.

William J. Clinton

The White House, June 25, 1999.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in the issue.

June 19

In the morning and afternoon, the President attended G-8 working session meetings

with foreign leaders in the Exhibit Hall of the Ludwig Museum in Cologne, Germany.

June 20

In the afternoon, the President met with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in the Cologne Room of the Renaissance Hotel.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Bonn, Germany.

The President had a telephone conversation with Kosovo Liberation Army leader Hashim Thaci.

June 21

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Ljubljana, Slovenia.

The President had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom concerning the two British soldiers killed in an explosion in Negrovce, Kosovo.

The President announced his intention to nominate Martin George Brennan to be Ambassador to Uganda.

The President announced his intention to appoint Richard Glenn as a member of the Arctic Research Commission.

June 22

In the morning, the President traveled to Skopje, Macedonia.

In the evening, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton traveled to Aviano Air Base in Italy, and later, they returned to Washington, DC.

June 23

The President announced his intention to nominate Paul W. Fiddick to be Assistant Secretary of Administration at the Department of Agriculture.

The President announced his intention to nominate Evelyn S. Lieberman to be Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the Department of State.

The President announced his intention to appoint W. Cullen Battle as a member of the Utah Reclamation Mitigation and Conservation Commission.

The President announced his intention to appoint Stewart H. Gamage as a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars.

The President announced his intention to appoint Diane Takvorian and Roberto Ortego as members of the Advisory Council of the Border Environment Cooperation Commission.

June 24

In the morning the President met with his economic team.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael Gaines, Timothy E. Jones, Marie F. Ragghianti, and John R. Simpson to be members of the U.S. Parole Commission.

The President announced his intention to nominate Diana E. Murphy to be Chair and member and Ruben Castillo, Sterling Johnson, Jr., Joseph Kendall, Michael O'Neill, William K. Sessions III, and John R. Steer to be members of the U.S. Sentencing Commission.

The President announced the nomination of William J. Ranier as Chairman and Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The White House announced that President Kim Dae-jung of South Korea will make an official working visit to the White House on July 2.

June 25

In the afternoon, the President held his 176th news conference in Presidential Hall (formerly Room 450) in the Old Executive Office Building.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted June 23

Irasema Garza,

of Maryland, to be Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, vice Karen Beth Nussbaum, resigned.

T. Michael Kerr,

of the District of Columbia, to be Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor, vice Maria Echaveste, resigned.

William J. Ranier.

of New Mexico, to be Chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, vice Brooksley Elizabeth Born, resigned.

William J. Ranier,

of New Mexico, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the term expiring April 13, 2004, vice Brooksley Elizabeth Born, resigned.

Submitted June 24

Paul W. Fiddick,

of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, vice Wardell Clinton Townsend, Jr., resigned.

Evelyn Simonowitz Lieberman, of New York, to be Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy (new position).

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released June 19

Statement by the Press Secretary: President Clinton's Visit to Macedonia and Aviano, Italy

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the President's meeting with Prime Minister Sergey Stepashin of Russia

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg on the G–8 summit

Released June 20

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the President's meeting with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Released June 21

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Released June 24

Transcript of a press briefing by press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary: Official Working Visit by Korean President Kim Daejung

Acts Approved by the President

Approved June 25

H.R. 435 / Public Law 106-36 Miscellaneous Trade and Technical Corrections Act of 1999